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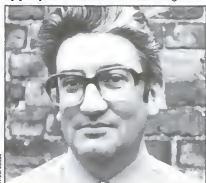
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Memorandum

Fourfold gospel

How do we relate the gospel and today's society? *The Christian in the modern world*, a ten-week course run by the London Institute for Contemporary Christianity, approaches the question from four different angles. *Interpreting the Bible*, in 15 lectures by John Stott from 29 September to 31 October, will address such issues as biblical authority, Scripture and culture, and thinking Christianly about contemporary issues. *Understanding the modern world*, which runs concurrently, will offer a historical perspective and focus on contemporary trends in psychology, science and social life. From 3 November to 5 December a more practically-oriented course, *Living as a disciple*, will explore personal holiness, spiritual life amidst daily pressures, and Christian meditation. At the same time *Reaching out in mission* will consider challenges from other faiths and ideologies, biblical foundations of mission and appropriate methods of evangelism.



Ernest Lucas, LICC's new director, will be amongst the lecturers on the course units; others include Jerram Barrs of L'Abri Fellowship, counsellor Myra Chave-Jones, Edmund Clowney, author of *Christian Meditation*, Martin Goldsmith of All Nations Christian College, Alan and Eleanor Kreider of the London Mennonite Centre, Yemi Ladipo, Nigerian vicar of St Peter's, Islington, and David Lyon, author of *The Steeple's Shadow* (*Third Way*/SPCK).

Application forms from The Dean, London Institute, St Peter's Church, Vere Street, London W1.

Magnifying glass

Biblical theology can help the Christian engage in literary criticism, and literary critics can illuminate our understanding of the Bible. It is to promote growth on both these fronts that the UCCF Associates Literary Studies Group has published *The Glass*, the latest to join the ranks of

specialist journals produced by UCCF professional groups.

The first issue reproduces a paper on *The Bible and Sexuality* given by John Goldingay to an LSG conference in 1985; an article on *Reading the Bible* by Stuart Cunningham, reflecting on various critical approaches including structuralism, and previously published only in Australia; and a poem on Elijah by David Barratt. Contributions both critical and creative, from students or teachers of literature, are invited (c/o UCCF, 38 De Montfort Street, Leicester LE1 7GP).

More lessons for teachers

Children at risk, a weekend course with contributions from NSPCC staff and *Third Way* columnist David Porter, is one of the expanded programme of conferences offered by Stapleford House, the Association of Christian Teachers centre, this autumn. Other courses, open to all concerned with educational issues, include *Evangelicals and modern RE*, *The experience of Asian children*, *Integrating the handicapped into church, school and community* and *Educational theory - Christian or not?*, as well as courses for heads of department, Geography and English teachers, careers teachers and officers, school governors, and those involved in school management. Dates and booking forms from Stapleford House Education Centre, FREEPOST, Stapleford, Nottingham NG9 7BR (special rates for group bookings).

Listen hear . . .

Is development a one-way conversation, with the rich busy telling the poor how to solve their problems? *One World Week* this year invites participants to *Listen for a change*: to listen not only to the stories of famine and destitution but to the voices of those who are working to transform their own situation. *One World on your Doorstep*, the week's handbook for planners, offers role-plays, simulations and other suggestions to help people enter into the lives of others, and also encourages users to listen to voices they do not normally hear from within their own communities: women, black churches, the young and aged, the disabled. The emphasis is on celebrating the diversity of human resources.

The Planners Handbook at £2.00, 1986 supplement only at 50p, and leaflets at 5p, are all available from *One World Week*, P O Box 1, London SW9 8BH.

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This One



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Chronicle

'What we have seen and heard'

The British Parliamentary system is famous for its traditions. Members have been ejected from its Houses for failure to adhere to its long-established procedures. Recently however one debate stood out for its breaking of historic traditions.

At just after 7.00pm on June 17, Alastair Burt, Conservative MP for Bury North, rose and announced to the House of Commons that his speech in the South Africa debate was one of three that Members should view together. This in itself was not very unusual; what was different was that the three speeches were being delivered by Members from differing parties.

Alastair Burt told the Commons that three weeks previously he had visited South Africa with Simon Hughes, a Liberal MP, and Peter Pike, a Labour MP. (The visit was sponsored by Christians in this country and in South Africa. While there the Members had 39 meetings over eight days, met over 90 people in formal and informal settings, and also visited Zimbabwe.) Burt said 'We went not as a Parliamentary delegation, but as brothers in Christ'. Because of this, and in breach of Parliamentary convention, he said that 'We will refer to each other as honourable Friends' - the term of address only used when referring to a member of one's own party.

Self-evident need

The debate that night was on a motion calling on the government to work actively with the EEC, the Commonwealth and the USA for 'effective economic measures' against South Africa. Sir Geoffrey Howe immediately announced an amendment replacing 'USA' with 'Economic Summit Seven' and calling for the vaguer 'effective measures'.

Of the three convention-breakers, Alastair Burt was the first to speak. Burt (one of *Third Way*'s three Parliamentary columnists) emphasized that change in South Africa must consist not only of the abolition of the legislative structure of apartheid. That, he said, was 'almost secondary to the struggle to change hearts and minds'. In this connection he praised the work of Michael Cassidy's *National Initiative for Reconciliation*. Nevertheless the need for legislative and political change was 'self-evident' and the question was 'not "whether change" but "when"'.

Calling on his own government to change its policy, he outlined two reasons behind his call. Firstly, the situation was

urgent, and increasing polarization was 'undermining the work of reconciliation'. Secondly, there was real doubt among black South Africans about whether Britain was doing all it could.

The scope for practical encouragement emerged as a key theme from the Bury MP. He acknowledged that an effective reform process must come from within South Africa; however the task was not simply encouraging the Pretoria government to move, but also giving active support to the moderate black leaders, so that their non-violent policies might bear some fruit - 'otherwise, why should their people follow them?'



Alastair Burt

Not embarrassed

Allan Rogers, the Labour Member for Rhondda, later responded to Burt's speech, admitting that 'I share his Christian faith, but, alas, I lack his strength to carry it out with the same commitment'. He continued, 'I see the honourable Member for Luton North [John Carlisle] smiling again at the expression of someone's Christian faith, as he did when his honourable Friend was speaking. I do not know why he should be embarrassed by Christ. Many people in the world are not'.

Decrying the Tory party's opposition to apartheid as 'half-hearted', Rogers stated his opinion that Burt had reached the essence of the argument: 'The debate is essentially about morals'.

Losing patience

Simon Hughes, Liberal MP for Southwark and Bermondsey (and another *Third Way* columnist) was second of the three to speak. His opening remarks reflected the actions of the three MPs, when he spoke of 'Christian politicians [in South Africa] who are prepared to meet across political parties and colour boundaries to work for reconciliation'.

Hughes reported that black youngsters in South Africa were losing patience because they had concluded that while capitalist Christianity had not shown them any solution. Terry Dicks, the Member for Hayes and Harlington, broke in and asked how Hughes knew that. Echoing a biblical phrase he replied 'I know that because they have told us and because we have seen that'. He went on to quote a black archdeacon in Johannesburg:

'You Europeans came here and preached your faith and European culture on the basis of Christian equality and then you rejected us as equals.'

Such experiences, Hughes commented, were what led to violence.

Economic sanctions were, he said, 'the only peaceful way of filling the vacuum between diplomatic sanctions, which are too meagre, and the military option, which is too severe'. Even South Africa herself knew the effectiveness of sanctions, because she used them against her neighbours.

Christian influence

Peter Pike, the third member of the delegation, spoke of the importance of the church in South Africa. He stated that 78 per cent of the population profess and practice a Christian faith. As well as calling for the abolition of the *Group Areas Act*, the recognition by Pretoria of the ANC, and the release of Nelson Mandela, he stressed that the *Dutch Reform Church* must end apartheid within its own ranks. 'If the opportunities are seized', he said, 'a peaceful solution is possible'.

Donald Anderson, MP for Swansea East (completing the trio of *Third Way* columnists speaking in the debate) wound up for the Opposition. He welcomed the 'spiritual dimension' of the three speeches and described the Prime Minister as a 'latter-day Canute' standing vainly against the tide 'and that for an inglorious cause'.

No change

However if the speeches broke Parliamentary tradition, the voting did not. While Simon Hughes and Peter Pike voted for the motion, Alastair Burt voted with the Government and the motion was defeated, though the amended version was passed.

Colin Blakely
Assistant Editor, *TODAY* magazine.

Greenbelt variety show

Anyone who has ever thought the *Greenbelt Festival* seminar programme looked too much like the Labour Party at prayer, will have their preconceptions shaken by the presence at this year's festival of John Selwyn Gummer, former Conservative Party chairman, as one of the main speakers. Another major speaker, announced after publicity had already gone out, is South African Allan Boesak, president of the *World Alliance of Reformed Churches* and a leading anti-apartheid campaigner, whose recent trial was reported in the May issue of *Third Way*.

Greenbelt's wide range of concerns – women's ministry, black churches, mission, pastoral care, the inner city, disarmament – is reflected in the line-up of regular seminar contributors and guests. Among the more familiar names are Christian apologist Os Guinness, CND's Bruce Kent, Greenbelt regulars Graham Cray, June Osborne, Sister Carol, Brother Keith, Myra Blyth and Alan Kreider. Guests from overseas include professor of Pastoral Care David Augsburg from the USA; Canadian theologian and psychotherapist Jim Olthuis; 'Christian biker' John Smith from Australia; American Episcopal Rector Carol Anderson. Seminars will focus on four main areas: *The class of '86* (looking at pop culture); *Worship and stuff like that* (spirituality); *Where Christians divide* (social and political

issues); and *Self-image* (personal growth and relationships).

There will also of course be the usual mix of music (top attractions this year include Deniece Williams and David Grant), theatre, film and fringe performances.

Looking further afield, candidates are now being considered for the annual

Greenbelt Scholarship, established to enable young Christians from around the world to engage in a four month programme of study and practical experience in arts and mission. *Third Way* readers who wish to nominate a candidate should write to: *The London Institute*, St Peter's Church, Vere Street, London SW1.



Evangelism without pain

'Person to Person has broken through the pain threshold in evangelism', was the comment of one local church leader who took part in testing of the newly completed video-based training course. Produced jointly by *Scripture Union*, *Campus Crusade for Christ* and *Bible*

Society, the course is designed to help ordinary Christians share the gospel with friends and neighbours. It includes practical experience as well as video drama, documentary and teaching. To make its application as wide as possible, the programme underwent extensive field testing in churches of many denominations and situations: Catholic, Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Brethren; evangelical, charismatic, 'house church'; inner city, suburban and rural.

Obstacles

Person to Person took three years to produce. Shooting for the ten video programmes began in July 1985, in the midst of one of the wettest summers in recent history, and in the teeth of obstacles such as *Royal Marines* exercises interrupting filming, and producer John Anscombe being hospitalized with severe hay fever after a day's work on a grassy bank. Nevertheless none of this shows on the final product, in which the weather is miraculously always beautiful.

The package includes a leader's guide and ten members' workbooks as well as sample evangelistic leaflets and Bible study materials, and invitation cards for course participants. It is designed to prepare members for all kinds of outreach initiatives – door to door visiting, Gospel distribution, hospital and prison visiting, evangelistic supper parties, city wide missions, invitation services, street theatre.

The course will be available for sale at £199 or hire at £65 for 13 weeks, from November; meanwhile a free-loan demonstration video to evaluate its potential can be obtained from *Person to Person*, P O Box 240, Swindon, SN5 7HA.



Pip Hawthorn as Hudson Taylor with the SU video unit.

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Commentary

2 – Let her teach

We saw last month that Paul's words in 1 Timothy 2.11-12 are best understood as a command to women, which has both positive and negative connotations. Positively, women must learn and understand Christian doctrine; negatively, they are not allowed to share in the teaching of this doctrine, or to hold any authority position which would be occasioned by a teaching or other similar role. It is difficult to avoid seeing a link between these two exhortations, namely that the latter is dependent upon the former: women may not teach or lead because they have not yet learnt enough. But when they have learnt enough, what then? Is there something in the very nature of woman which makes it impossible for her to hold a formal teaching or authority position, or are Paul's instructions culture-specific? The following verses, 13-15, have long been held to embody a creation-principle which gives weight to the first of these interpretations. But before accepting this conclusion, a closer examination of the text is required.

One step behind

At first sight, the link between verses 12 and 13 sounds obscure. 'For Adam was formed (εφλάθη) first, then Eve' seems strange reasoning, at least to 20th century ears. By this logic, man should have no authority over animals since they were created before he was! (Genesis 1.25). This notion is immediately refuted in Genesis 1.27-28 in which God commands man-and-woman together to rule over all living things. Yet the use of the emphatic 'for' indicates that Paul and his original readers regarded 13 as a sensible reason for 12. A clue to this reasoning lies in the use of *plassō*, which is also used of the forming of clay by the potter (Romans 9.20). It refers to a *process* of fashioning and development, not an *act* of creation for which Paul always uses *kitzō* (1 Corinthians 11.9; Ephesians 2.10, 15; 3.9; 4.24; Colossians 1.16; 1 Timothy 4.3).

In view of this, it is surprising that 13-14 have for so long been regarded as a *creation* ordinance. Paul is not appealing to some mysterious 'structure of created sexual relationships'; his reasoning is actually along simpler lines. The construction 'first Adam then (as opposed to *not*) Eve' emphasizes the secondariness of Eve's formation rather than the primacy of Adam's. She had, as it were, been one step behind from the start. This, Paul knew to be true not only from Old Testament scripture, but also as he observed the educational discrimination against women which was common among all but the highest classes of Hellenistic women, and even more so amongst those of Jewish background. Not only had Eve been at the disadvantage of not hearing the command against eating the fruit direct from God (Genesis 2.16), but ever since, through the deliberate withholding of his word in scripture from them, women had

1 Timothy 2.8-15

I want men everywhere to lift up holy hands in prayer, without anger or disputing.

I also want women to dress modestly, with decency and propriety, not with braided hair or gold or pearls or expensive clothes, "but with good deeds, appropriate for women who profess to worship God."

"A woman should learn in quietness and full submission." "I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she must be silent."

"For Adam was formed first, then Eve."

"And Adam was not the one deceived; it was the woman who was deceived and became a sinner."

"But women will be saved through childbearing - if they continue in faith, love and holiness with propriety."

remained at this disadvantage. No wonder Eve was not just deceived (ἐπατήθη), but thoroughly deceived (εξαπατήθη) and no wonder all women needed to learn, in order to avoid a similar error. And until, they had made up for this lost time, Paul would exclude them from these particular teaching and authority roles.

Verse 13 does not support the idea that woman's being formed after man somehow innately predisposes her to be more susceptible to deception. For Paul, Eve's being deceived was not something to be confessed, as some sort of additional sin, but rather a mitigation, though not a valid excuse, for her guilt. Was it perhaps Adam's failure to ensure that God's word was properly conveyed to her that partly set the scene for the committing of the original sin? Or was it that Eve failed to ask him what exactly God had said, but chose and acted independently of his advice? Probably, failure on both sides was involved, which would support the suggestion that Paul here is arguing against the authorization of both an improperly qualified and an independent individualistic type of teaching or leadership. And incidentally, it would implicate both man and woman equally, though differently and complementarily, in responsibility for the Fall.

A puzzle

The relation of 15 to the preceding verses has long been, and remains, a puzzle. The RSV reading 'And (or but) a woman will be saved (σώσεται) through (δια) bearing children (τεκνογονία) if she continues... etc' makes sense only if the underlying theme is that of sin and its remedy; a thought still reverberating in Paul's mind from 3-7. The mere mention of sin (14) brings to his attention the ever-present reality of the tremendous good news of deliverance from its penalty, by Christ, through faith. In all 27 uses of *σώζω*, Paul always means theological

salvation; when he wishes to convey the natural sense of safety or security he uses *asphaleia* (Philippians 3.1; 1 Thessalonians 5.3) or *hōrōō* (1 Thessalonians 5.23). This being so, his use of *τεκνογονία*, which normally means the natural birth of human or animal offspring, presents quite a problem for interpretation. It is hardly conceivable that the author of Romans 3-5 and Galatians 3, could have written a statement which even allowed the possibility that salvation could be achieved through childbearing, let alone child nurturing, to which some would extend the term's meaning.

Various solutions to this problem have been proposed. The two most likely are, firstly, that *τεκνογονία* is an obscure reference to the birth of Christ, similar to Paul's calling him 'the seed' (Galatians 3.16); secondly, that *δια* here has the admittedly unusual sense of 'despite', in which case the phrase would have to mean something like 'despite childbearing, its associated trauma, and, by implication, the sin which this trauma so powerfully exemplifies.'

Fortunately, it is unnecessary, in relation to the question of women's ministry, to try to decide between these options! In any case, the 'how?' of salvation itself, from the sinner's viewpoint, is not in doubt. It is as always, provided that 'they continue in faith' (15); the faith which trusts in Christ's atoning sacrifice, and which is evidenced in love, holiness and... Paul suddenly remembers where he began this (length and typical) thought-chain, and writes 'with modesty' so bringing this section of the letter full circle.

In the light of all this, it seems that 1 Timothy 2.11-15 need not be regarded as a barrier to opportunity for women in ministry today. Paul's advice to Timothy relates to a specific problem, that of the ignorance of the Ephesian women, with its roots in a particular cultural situation, albeit one of long standing, that of the disadvantage of women in general. In this respect it is not essentially different from his advice to the Corinthians concerning the wearing of head coverings and long hair; and in terms of its outworking in the contemporary church, it should be treated likewise.

The abiding principles underlying these specific instructions include the need for good order and humility; for proper education of all believers in right doctrine; for using all the gifts given to men and women in building up the Body of Christ; and exemplifying, in that Body, a truly complementary male-female leadership under Christ as a sole independent authority. It is these principles which undergirded the original creation and will, eventually, characterize the new one. And it is as these principles are properly and appropriately applied that the individualism, isolationism and deception which today threaten all men and women who would be ministers of Christ, will progressively be eradicated. ●

People for dinner

'Eating people is wrong!' sang Flanders and Swann in the '60s. But, considered more precisely, what exactly is eating people? What subtle forms of cannibalism do we find in practice? What is socially acceptable and what do we eschew?

Whilst the physical notion is abhorrent to us, maybe we devour our species in other ways. Character cannibalism can become a daily diet, in print at the breakfast table and on view with the evening newscaster. Pick an individual with a juicy story, then hound the victim in the chase for further titbits of information and a compromising photograph. When the quarry is cornered, process the details for print or screen. It sells. Subtly we become immune to the morality of the process, remain dubious about the accuracy of what we read and the presentation of what we see but shrug our shoulders, feeling powerless to intervene in a way that makes better sense.

The recent death of Olivia Channon after an Oxford party at the end of finals, raises some of the issues. Here was a young, attractive daughter of a government minister, educated at a University where privilege still exists. A user of drugs, including alcohol. After her death, her family, friends and fellow students were investigated, written and talked about, and photographed. She was eaten and regurgitated by the media for news and as a trigger to debate privilege, status, student grants, drugs and drink. No-one really questioned all of that. It is what we have learnt to expect.

After Miss Channon's death, Don Steele, the Director of *Action on Alcohol Abuse* (AAA) wrote a letter to the Prime Minister pointing out the inadequacy of the government's policies on alcohol, part of which read as follows:

'No-one would wish to capitalize on such a sad occasion to advance any particular point of view, and I must hasten to assure you that it is only because of what I see as the urgency of the situation and the growing danger to the youth of this country that I write to you. The question must surely be asked: "How many young people are to die or have their lives ruined before the danger presented by

our current attitudes to alcohol is taken seriously?"'

The letter was released to the press as well as being sent to Downing Street. The *Daily Advertiser* took exception to this. It acknowledged that AAA wrote to the Prime Minister expressing regret at Olivia Channon's death but suggested that 'in the most sickening way *Action on Alcohol Abuse* carries on to use this letter as propaganda for its own purposes' and that in their view AAA was using her death to 'make yet another assault on the liquor industry'.

Now, quite apart from press pots calling campaigning kettles black, was AAA in this instance eating people or not? The sensational news items surrounding her death were part of the process of commercial news selling. AAA's letter was part of a process of public health campaigning, enabling others to see that abusing alcohol and – as it turned out – using other drugs, is dangerous to life itself. Was the sad event used for a permissible purpose or were Olivia Channon and the feelings of her family and friends being devoured unreasonably?

Before we jump too firmly on one side of the fence or the other, consider how frequently famous men and women, past and present, are quoted from the pulpits in our land. Honestly, wouldn't many of them turn in their graves, or in their bedclothes, if they heard some of what they had said and done, re-hashed, out of context, to further the argument the preacher wishes to advance? Take the life and words of Christ himself. Are they always quoted in a contextually correct way? Are they always furthering the same purpose as Christ himself wished them to?

Which brings us back to where we began. Eating people is wrong – but is there a difference between a character nibble and a full-blown bite? Can either be acceptable if the purpose for which they are eaten is 'worthy'? Is it something to do with how we chew? Let those of us who use words on paper and orally (and who does not?) ponder . . .

Jeanne Wesson

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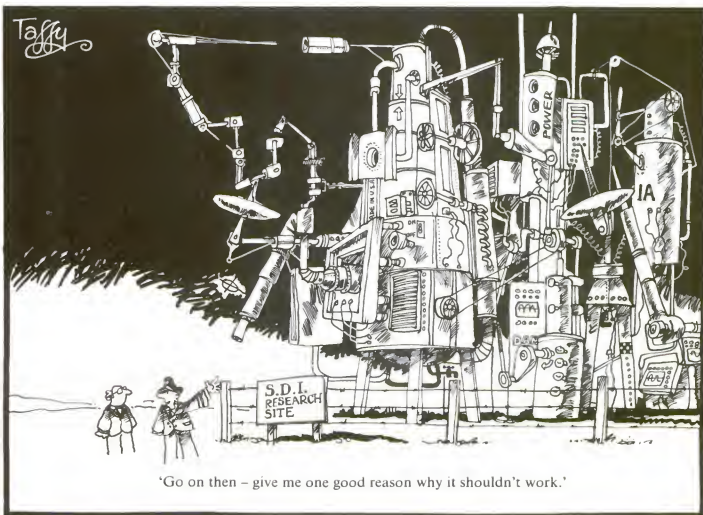
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'Go on then – give me one good reason why it shouldn't work.'



• HOPE FOR A • M•A•D • WORLD ? •

PART

1

In the first of two articles
Oliver O'Donovan examines the promise of the
USA's Strategic Defence Initiative

It is arguable that the most important thing to be achieved by the *Strategic Defence Initiative* (SDI) was achieved straight away on the evening that President Reagan made his famous televised address in March 1983, putting forward his ambitious plan for a programme of scientific research to perfect a space-based defence against strategic missiles. It was to cast public doubt upon the accepted strategic doctrine of the Western Alliance, the doctrine of deterrence by Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). He called it 'a sad commentary on the human condition' and declared that 'the human spirit must be capable of rising above dealing with other nations... by threatening their existence.'

But this feature of his programme caught the public imagination much less than the prospect of putting weapons systems into space. As for us moralists, we stirred from our intellectual slumbers hardly at all – not enough even to mutter 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' Only now are the ranks of vulgar commentators, theologians and other professional holders of opinions awaking to discover that the question of strategic deterrence has assumed quite a different visage.

To assist us in our waking we have two new books, one British and one American, set before us. *War in Space*¹ offers a snappy historical review of the antecedents to SDI, starting with the first artificial satellite in 1957. The author is Defence and Foreign Affairs Correspondent for the BBC, which has, no doubt, served to shape his approach to these questions, which is that of a chronicler of technological wonders. The reader who is primarily concerned to understand the moral implications of SDI and the nature of the political decisions that confront us, will probably find that the sharper focus of *Weapons in Space*² gives him more help, though it certainly makes serious demands upon his attention. It contains fifteen specialist essays by twenty-one contributors, and adds the texts of President Reagan's address and the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile

(ABM) Treaty as useful appendices. None of the essays address the moral questions; none, so far as I can judge, have more than a faint awareness that there are those who doubt the wisdom of prevailing strategic doctrine even more fundamentally than the President of the United States. Yet the reader who brings to these essays his own familiarity with the wider debate will find their analytic approach instructive. To this volume of essays I refer by page numbers in what follows, without, for the most part, identifying the essayists individually.

Stable terror?

The titles of both books are wrongly focused. The really important question is not space, but defence. Since the days when Robert Macnamara ruled in the Pentagon, it has been commonly accepted that defence is more destabilizing than offence. Successful defence capabilities, it is argued, make a country immune to deterrence and so free to contemplate a first strike. Furthermore, they encourage an accelerating pace in the arms race, as the opponent, anxious to secure the status quo of mutual deterrence, pursues the capability of penetrating the defence, while the defender, anxious to protect its investment, is committed to constant upgrading against possible penetration. Such arguments contributed to the successful conclusion of the *ABM Treaty* in 1972, the single surviving arms control agreement between the superpowers, 'a thin legacy of detente' (p194). This is now threatened by SDI, which must, as soon as it moves beyond the research phase, imply the treaty's abandonment – or, euphemistically, 'renegotiation' (p235).

There are, however, good reasons for us to be suspicious of these arguments. The term 'destabilizing' betrays the doubtful context of thought from which they originate. It appeals to the concept of a 'stable balance of terror', the idea that an ordered world peace can be secured behind the barricades of irrational and utterly destructive threat, so that the devil is harnessed, as it were, to do mankind's political husbandry for him. It is to this

concept, and developments of it, that we refer when we use the term 'deterrence'. It is a recent concept, and not to be equated with the traditional perception that any well-publicized intention to act against wrongdoing will have a tendency to deter possible wrongdoers.

There is much to be said against the stable balance of terror – so much, and so conclusive, in my view, that I find it hard to think that anything but intellectual inertia has kept it enthroned in the minds of the majority of our contemporaries. The idea that all is safe so long as the great powers maintain postures of unreasoning menace, confident that if they do so with unblinking resolution they will be spared forever the implications of what they threaten – this idea should never have appealed for a moment to thinking people, and least of all to Christians who might have learned from their Bibles that the state was not instituted of God to play the madman. One pair of essayists, writing more truly than they know, observe that 'MAD is not a policy capable of being changed by political will; it is rather the inevitable consequence of the superpowers having the nuclear arsenals that they have' (p239). We may draw out the truth behind their fatalism if we reverse and rephrase their observation as follows: MAD is a policy developed as a rationalization for technical powers which can have no rational use within the realm of politics. It will be abandoned, not as a result of a mighty resolution of will to do without these powers, but only if we reach the clear recognition that there is nothing that we can do with them.

Short shrift

For this reason some of us, thinking from within the just war tradition of Christianity, have been ready to take a short way with the complaint that the unilateral renunciation of population-destroying weapons would be 'destabilizing'. There is no stability, we have answered, founded upon weapons systems that defy political reason and have no just or plausible use. They do not deter an enemy from attacks which, in turn, could serve no possible goal of his; so that if we anticipate our adversary in laying them down, we expose ourselves to nothing from which his political reason would not anyway protect us. This is not to suggest that the adversary's political reason is a failsafe protection; but there are no failsafe protections to be had, and we are likely to be less exposed when dependent upon an enemy's political reason and our own determination to defend justice rationally, than when we equip ourselves with weapons which, having no use outside of hell, can only constitute a standing invitation to go there. The only stability lies in just and rational measures against conceivable attacks.

We will be inclined, then, to treat the Macnamara doctrine on defence with exactly the same high hand. It is, after all, perfectly clear that to launch a population-destroying nuclear missile is an act neither

just nor rational, whereas to shoot one down when it has been launched from elsewhere is both. 'Wouldn't it be better,' the President asked, 'to save lives than to avenge them?' The notion that it is destabilizing to plan salvation but not to plan vengeance looks like one of the many counter-intuitive paradoxes generated by the inherent contradictions of orthodox deterrence doctrine, paradoxes which dazzle the minds of the very clever, tempting them to scintillating displays of sophisticated dialectic. As it stands, it is unworthy of belief. The first task of just war thinkers and nuclear pacifists of every description is to refuse to believe it.

If they do refuse, they will take the first step in the direction that President Reagan invites them to go. Is it not logical, then, that they should follow the President further, seizing on SDI as the natural way out of the deterrence stalemate? They may well think so, even if they permit themselves a quiet prayer that SDI will lead to successful arms negotiations long before it ever comes to the actual placing of weapons in space.

A way of escape?

These, it seems to me, must be the *first* thoughts on SDI for anyone who has seriously enquired into what it would mean to escape from massive deterrence. That these first thoughts are not widely current among us does not, I think, mean that we have already won through to second thoughts, but merely that we have not yet faced up to the question. Perhaps those who oppose MAD most noisily have not seriously enquired into what it would mean to escape from it. We ought at least to be alerted by the line-up of prominent deterrentists (Mitterand, Howe, Heath *etc*) who are ready to be counted against SDI, well aware that it is their doctrine that is under attack.

There is, however, a strong prejudice in the ranks of the anti-nuclear movement against having anything to do with President Reagan, a prejudice which his recent attack on the *Salt 2* treaty will do nothing to alter. We have yet to see how many of the traditional opponents of deterrence will find it convenient to take up the deterrentists' case against SDI, and argue (as though the term were quite unproblematic) that defence is 'destabilizing'. It is, after all, hard for everyone to accept Saul among the prophets – and especially hard for the prophets! (Let anyone who can find comfort in the fact recall that the roots of the SDI programme lie with President Carter's 1977 *Anti-Satellite* initiative.)

I say this slightly polemically, because it may appear to some that the *second* thoughts which I am about to advance amount to just such a *volte-face*. I owe it to myself, at least, to make it as hard as possible to be against SDI, marking out clearly the lines of argument that are



Robert Macnamara, former US Secretary for Defence.



The USSR's SS-1 battlefield nuclear missile.

◀ forbidden to anyone who professes not to believe in deterrence. There can be no easy coalition, no sudden convergence of horizons with those who take their stand on the stable balance of terror. The President has made a serious overture to the critics of deterrence, and that overture deserves to be examined seriously on its merits.

Another reading

An open-minded approach, however, does not prevent our asking whether there is any truth in the Macnamara doctrine that is *independent* of premisses derived from deterrence theory. Given the very serious implications for the *ABM Treaty*, we ought, before we support SDI, to be quite certain that there is nothing of value enshrined in that treaty which would be lost by 'renegotiation'. My own conclusion is that the *ABM Treaty*, and the Macnamara doctrine which underlies it, can be given a favourable alternative reading which does not in any way presume upon the case for massive deterrence.

Let us start by establishing that the arms race is not extrinsic to the way in which superpowers undertake to deter each other. The simplest form of deterrence theory had no place for the arms race. The weapon itself was 'ultimate'; it could inflict unacceptable and insupportable damage upon the aggressor, and this fact

alone would provide a total insurance against dangerous and hostile acts. Where the weapon was, everything would be static and undisturbed.

But this simple form of the theory evidently failed to account for the way the superpowers actually behaved. It turned out that there were no 'ultimate weapons' in the strong sense that the theory required, which by sheer deterrence could inhibit any dangerous and hostile movement on an enemy's part. The enemy always had one dangerous and hostile movement open to him: to arm himself in such a way as would render the 'ultimate' weapon impotent.

The alarming prospect that the other side might develop a first-strike capability has constantly fuelled the resolve of each superpower not merely to *have* a weapon but constantly to *refine* it, expanding its deployment and resourcefulness (by multiple warheads, mobile delivery systems etc) in order to outpace the other's capacity to put it out of action. The project of deterrence is sustained, then, not by the holding of weapons but by the improvement of weapons. Each side displays its resolve by showing that it will relentlessly stay one step ahead.

In this context the acquisition of defensive weapons takes on a different meaning: it expresses the intention to nullify the resolve of the other side by making its new acquisitions useless to it. When the project is not deterrence-by-arms but deterrence-by-arms-race, then

the acquisition of defensive capabilities represents a fierce intensification of deterrence. In this context, then, the restraint of defensive capabilities can be seen as the first step to winding down the arms race and so escaping from deterrence. The *ABM Treaty* itself invites this interpretation when it declares, in its preamble, the intention of both sides 'to take effective measures towards reductions in strategic arms.'

In case anyone doubts that this is an alternative reading of the Macnamara doctrine, not just another way of putting the same argument about deterrent stability, contrast it with this conventional justification of the *ABM Treaty* (p194): 'The fundamental strategic assumption underlying the treaty is that the security of the United States is best guaranteed by a relationship of mutual deterrence between itself and the Soviet Union, and that the stability of this relationship would be threatened by the deployment of defensive systems that might call into question either side's retaliatory capability.' On this account defensive systems are dangerous because they *threaten* the project of mutual deterrence. On mine they are dangerous because they *enhance* it.

Offensive defence

It is hardly a novel contention that the moral character of an act, in itself harmless or even laudable, may be determined negatively by the context in



which it is performed. To take a simple text-book example: a terrorist, engaged in a struggle for power with his associates, arranges for certain information about a rival to be communicated to the authorities. What could be more praiseworthy than telling the truth? Yet it is not the truth-telling, in this case, but the breach of faith which characterizes his action decisively. Similarly, though it may be better absolutely to defend than to attack, there are contexts in which preparations for defence are provocative. In the context of the deterrent arms race they are worse: they enhance the project of deterrence by giving an additional turn of the screw to the struggle of each to stay ahead of his rival.

What, then, of the context in which President Reagan proposes to put the West into a defensive posture? How successfully does he break with the project of mutual deterrence which gives defences their sinister aspect?

His address was explicit about the ultimate goal of achieving complete emancipation from deterrence, of 'rendering these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete'. This was not a mere rhetorical flourish, but marks the key point of difference between his Administration and the expert panels which it commissioned to explore the possibilities. (The illuminating article by Donald L. Hafner on the work of the panels brings this out clearly). What the

President hopes to achieve by SDI is the abandonment of mutual threat.

The weakness of his position politically (quite apart from the major questions of practicability) is that even the supporters of SDI show 'a general interest in defence missions far less demanding than that proposed by the President' (p240). They are all, supporters and opponents alike, advocates of deterrence, differing only on the question of whether it is, or is not, destabilizing to enhance deterrence by adding a measure of defensive capability. General John C. Toomay, the chief advocate of the programme among the essayists of this volume, illustrates the tendency well: his article moves, with diminishing enthusiasm, from the question of 'intermediate capabilities' to 'the most contentious issue', which is 'full, perfect defence of the nation'. What he means by 'defence-oriented strategy' and what President Reagan envisages are two quite different things. For Toomay, it is primarily an enhanced deterrence, in which the ultimate power to launch a devastating reprisal is secured by protecting 'hard point' military sites. At best it is a way of 'raising the threshold for effective attacks'. For the President it is complete emancipation from the need for devastating reprisals.

But the weakness of the President's position politically corresponds to a weakness in it conceptually. He hopes to

make deterrence obsolete without relaxing it. The road to a defensive posture lies by way of an offensive posture which is to be maintained right to the end. And this raises the fundamental question of how defensive capabilities, developed within a deterrent posture, can be expected to convert that posture to a defensive one. This general question can be broken down into three parts:

- How can we develop defence capabilities without turning the screw of the deterrent arms-race?
- Can the point of obsolescence in offensive weapons be reached?
- Does such a programme really turn its back on massive deterrence in principle?

I have some definite proposals to make in answer to the first question, which unfortunately the Administration is not about to act on. But even if it were, it could not affect my answers to questions two and there, which are, in either case, 'No'. Why, I shall explain next month. ●

Notes

- 1 Christopher Lee *War in space* Hamish Hamilton (1986)
- 2 Franklin A. Long, Donald Hafner and Jeffrey Boutwell (eds) *Weapons in space* W W Norton (1986)

This is the first part of a two-part article which will be continued in the next issue.

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DEVELOPMENT OR DEPENDENCY ?

A guide to the available theories



'The Western donor agencies have been pumping millions of dollars worth of foreign assistance and advisory services into the developing countries. But what happened? The available indications show that the gap between the rural and urban sectors has actually widened instead of narrowing down, with the inevitable socio-economic and political consequences'.¹

It had seemed so simple. A Western economic system, once seemingly shattered by a World War, was growing by leaps and bounds. In the 1950s many believed that the benefits of economic growth would come to every country,

sometime soon. Yet thirty years later self-reproach seems to be the order of the day in the developed world – a feeling often reinforced in annual *Christian Aid* services.

How then have Christians approached the task of helping the Less Developed Countries (LDCs)? In practice, they have borrowed heavily from the ideas of others. Both the optimism of the 50s and today's scepticism have been rooted in theories of development, more or less widely held by academics, and as in many other areas no distinctively 'Christian' theory can be identified. However a critical examination of the available theories from a Christian perspective may be helpful.

MODERNIZATION THEORY

The notion of 'development', in the sense of the creation of wealth and of productive capacity, can be traced back to the writings of Adam Smith, Ricardo and Marx. Not surprisingly, all three dealt with the industrializing countries of Western Europe and it was only towards the end of the Second World War that the mainstream economists began to pay attention to the development of the LDCs.

Professor Harold Brookfield of the Australian National University suggests a number of reasons for this shift in interest.² First, beleaguered countries like France and Britain had been forcibly

reminded of their dependence upon, and interest in, the countries which supplied their foodstuffs and raw materials. Second, the Keynesian revolution held out the possibility of actually promoting economic growth through government action. Third, towards the end of the 19th century influential groups, particularly in the Netherlands and Britain, began to call for a greater sense of responsibility towards their colonies and a greater recognition of the rights of their peoples, ideals which were genuine enough even though they could easily become tainted with paternalism or even arrogance.

The point of departure for Modernization Theory can be regarded as the work of W W Rostow. He subtitled his 1960 work 'A non-Communist Manifesto' and it might be regarded as the product of an affluent age which believed that Marx had been vanquished forever.³ Like Marx, Rostow offered what was in effect a universal model of the stages through which any country might pass from a 'traditional' stage to a stage of 'high mass consumption'. Of these stages the most crucial was the 'take-off'. This was the period when a country's economy became capable of generating savings and of efficiently channelling these into manufacturing investment such that further growth would be self-generating. Rostow dated Britain's take-off around 1790, the USA's around 1850 and Japan's after 1880, while countries like Mexico or India had either just begun take-off or were about to do so very shortly.

A 'growth ethos'

It is worth noting that Rostow laid great emphasis on behaviour. To generate savings and to use them productively in a take-off required possibly a conscious financial policy by government (as in Japan) but also an ethos of entrepreneurship and thrift. For Rostow, man is not a straightforward maximizer of profit or of income; he has a wide range of other motivations ranging through power, pleasure, nationalism or humanitarianism. Many of these (such as those leading to conspicuous consumption) might not be conducive to a take-off. Rostow was obviously wanting to restore a proper measure of non-economic factors, including free will, to his economic theories. But in doing so he provided his critics with ready-made ammunition: the responsibility for a take-off was laid firmly upon the LDC itself. And if it failed? Clearly a case of laziness, lack of entrepreneurial spirit, corruption or inefficient government. The developed countries could only shake their heads sadly. 'What I did you can do. Why don't you go and do it?'⁴

'Trickle-down'

Modernization Theory had another source – the theories of polarized development of Perroux, Hirschman and Myrdal. As applied by the latter two in a geographical setting, economic growth in a country would initially be polarized or concentrated, typically around a large



Ethiopia.

city, to benefit from economies of scale and infrastructure. At a later date, however, this development would begin to stimulate growth over a wider area – Hirschman's famous 'trickle-down' effect (Myrdal was much less sanguine about this). These ideas guided French regional planning for many years and the geographer John Friedmann attempted to apply them in Venezuela. He maintained that an LDC with a colonial past and a reasonably enlightened government after independence could eventually achieve more or less uniform development and income levels throughout the whole country.⁵

Modernization Theory was a rich countries' theory. During the 50s and 60s it was largely unchallenged even though there was mounting evidence that 'development' in many parts of the world was still sluggish and that the contrast between the rich urban elites and the dwellers of the shanty towns or *latifundia* was becoming ever more stark. Friedmann's assumption of an enlightened government flew in the face not only of the oft-mentioned problems of corruption and incompetence but also the powerful vested interests of the wealthier sectors of the population (eg landlords) or the more prosperous regions (eg the Indian Punjab).

There was also a more fundamental objection about which even now there is no agreement: the question as to the nature of development itself. Brookfield observes that a Westerner's technological

conception of development may reflect not only his cultural conditioning but also his country's economic interests. Technology could doubtless offer Western living standards to the LDCs – for some groups, at least; it would also earn the West more money. The idea that cities should be the generators of wealth, à la Hirschman, was also challenged. If one could conceive of a non-Western form of development, could one not also conceive of non-Western means of achieving it, such as the countryside or the market town?⁶

DEPENDENCY THEORY

Meanwhile, researchers in the LDCs themselves were producing some ideas of their own. In Latin America, in particular, there had appeared a school of thought known loosely as 'structuralism', which focused upon those institutions which handle exchange, investment and policy-making in both the developed and the less developed world.

Strangely enough, the structuralists were opposed not only to Modernization Theory but to their fellow-Marxists also. Marxist dogma in Latin America at that time held that an economy must progress to a stage of advanced capitalism before a socialist revolution could occur – a backhandled espousal of modernization, in fact! Dependency Theory thus represents an attempt to shortcut the historical process as Marx had conceived it. Nonetheless, it is strongly based on classical Marxist ideas, particularly those ▶



Guatemala. Rabinal widows vegetable project.

of Lenin and of Rosa Luxemburg on imperialism. According to this thesis capitalists in developed countries (the 'metropole') are attempting to expand sales through wider markets while at the same time keeping down the wages of their intended customers, the proletariat. They resolve this contradiction by selling or even producing their products in LDCs (the 'periphery'), thus exploiting a vast potential market and/or a cheap labour force.

A seamless robe

The best-known proponents of Dependency Theory have been Andre Gundar Frank, Immanuel Wallerstein

and Samir Amin. They argue that trade and capital movements weld the world into a united system which makes it dangerously misleading to try to conceive of a country proceeding from 'underdevelopment' to 'development' in isolation from what is happening elsewhere. 'Underdevelopment' is not, as Modernization Theory has it, the stage before development but a condition that results directly from development elsewhere: the impoverishment of an LDC's economy and society through exploitation by the metropole. Even the apparent 'development' of countries like Brazil or Malaysia is a distorted, dependent development which benefits

only an elite, not the country as a whole, and leaves it vulnerable to the whims of the metropole's multinationals, bankers and governments.

Various mechanisms through which this process operates have been suggested. Better organization, superior technology, more effective advertising and a readier supply of investment capital gives the metropole's enterprises a competitive edge over those of the LDC—a fact which is not lost upon investors in the LDCs themselves. LDCs which attempt to accumulate foreign exchange by exporting agricultural or mineral products are faced with the worldwide long-term fall in their prices. Logging companies or agribusinesses may eject peasants from their land, make them dependent for their living on the world price of timber or pineapples, and permanently ruin the soil. And the dominance of the metropole's culture and aspirations in the media ensures that *CocaCola* and Japanese fashions will be preferred to the local products.

Respectability

Despite its Marxian origins, Dependency Theory has achieved a remarkable respectability in the West. A popularized and de-Marxified version appears in Ronald Sider's *Rich Christians in an age of hunger* (especially chapter 6) and in the literature of *Oxfam*, *Christian Aid*, *World Vision* and *Tear Fund* (especially the first two). Even so, it has not escaped criticism. Professor Brian Griffiths has argued that Dependency Theory in effect denies that wealth can be created: wealth accrues to some only because it is being taken away from others.⁷ This, however, is hardly a fair portrayal of the dependency position. The impoverishment of the periphery is not necessarily absolute (although it may be) but relative. Dependency Theory accepts that overall wealth—metropole's plus periphery's—may increase, but it argues that inequality will increase also; the new wealth goes into fewer pockets. And these processes, as already described, may so distort the LDC's economy that catching up with the metropole becomes little more than a cruel pipe-dream.

CAPITAL RESTRUCTURING THEORY

Interestingly, many of the strongest attacks upon Dependency Theory in recent years have come from the Marxists themselves. They have seized upon its emphasis on trade and prices, rather than on the creation of values through production relations, and argue that a more rigorously Marxist theory is required.

John Browett at the Flinders University of South Australia suggests that Dependency Theory has no logical explanation for the following: given that capitalist economies necessarily accumulate capital, why cannot capitalist LDCs do the same? In fact, he goes on,

many can and some of them do. The so-called Newly Industrializing Countries or NICs – Brazil, Mexico, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore – have shown rapid growth in wealth and production levels. As evidence that this is indeed a healthily independent and self-generating growth, Browett points to a widening capital base, the development of local technologies and the emergence of substantial local funding and managerial skills. While not all writers would accept this interpretation, and Singapore for one still relies heavily on multinational investment, it does seem that we are witnessing here a phenomenon which Dependency Theory cannot account for.

Marxists like Browett have therefore begun to ask: why is this investment occurring here? In answer, they have set out to identify both 'push' and 'pull' factors. The 'push' factors in strict Marxist understanding would be the inevitable contradictions which afflict capitalism in advanced industrial countries. The 'pull' factors are those which make it much easier to invest in, say, an LDC than it used to be. They include improved communications, cheap labour, the appearance of international financial markets, and technical advances which allow production to be broken down into stages: the components in a 'Japanese' camera may in fact hail from all over the Pacific basin, depending on where they can most advantageously be made.

What is new about this approach is that it breaks out of the old periphery-to-

metropole flow of wealth and seeks to acknowledge a wider variety of changes. Thus we have the multinational which invests in an LDC and then closes its plant in Britain. We see Britons driving Ford cars built in Spain and swallowing pills packed in Britain but made in Singapore. These developments can all be regarded as aspects of a broader process: a global restructuring of capital.

●

How is the Christian to react to all this? Should we immediately reject the Dependency and Capital Restructuring theories on the grounds that they are Marxist?

Two points can perhaps be noted. First, while Marxist writers may have exposed specific injustices with devastating clarity, it seems to me that they have often failed to map these satisfactorily onto their theoretical framework. I recall one paper which dealt with the failure of a development scheme in Peru, using a dependency approach. It pointed to government inefficiency and the exploitation of farmers by middlemen, but nowhere did it convincingly show how these necessarily followed from the capitalist mode of production.⁸ In this connection it is worth recalling that many Marxists regard Dependency Theory's Marxism as flawed (and even cite, as an illustration, its 'co-optation' by non-Marxist bodies such as *Christian Aid*!) And while the Capital Restructuring approach is still in its infancy, its enquiry

into why one country attracts investment rather than another does not seem to be innately Marxist.

Second, as has often been noted, Marxism is long on analysis and short on prescription. Dependency Theory has been very vague as to what constitutes a desirable form of development except that, in Frank's terms, it should be 'self-generating and self-perpetuating'. His only suggestion as to how to achieve this was that the country should isolate itself from the world capitalist economic system. Among the examples which he quotes are Argentina during the two World Wars, and Japan – hardly model socialist countries! (More recently Tanzania's government appears to have regarded self-sufficiency as preferable to relying on the world system.) Capital Restructuring approaches up to now have been equally infertile in making recommendations.

Misguided hopes

What about Modernization Theory, then? Certainly, this has indeed guided a great deal of policy-making. Sadly, I feel that it was applied too indiscriminately and took too little account of the real constraints both within an LDC and outside it. In addition, its outlook was optimistic and optimism can only be sustained by relying upon particular presuppositions about human behaviour, whether individual or corporate. Identifying these presuppositions may take time and we may not agree exactly what they are. In the meantime, it is perhaps healthy for us Westerners to keep reminding ourselves of the dangers of foisting misguided programmes upon the LDCs and not just to spend all our efforts on constructing idyllic visions of what might, but quite possibly won't, come to pass.

Overall, I would hold that the Christian is free to draw upon any approach which lends itself to the matter at hand, alert to the possibility that non-Christian presuppositions may lead to misleading conclusions (for instance, regarding human free will or the role of Christian missionaries) but recognizing that God has given an intelligent and critical intellect even to a scholar who does not know him. ●

Notes

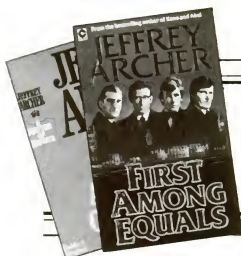
- 1 Christian Conference of Asia and WCC Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development *Justice and development* (Singapore 1984)
- 2 H C Brookfield *Interdependent development* (Methuen 1975)
- 3 W W Rostow *The stages of economic growth: a non-communist manifesto* CUP (1960)
- 4 The words of a model capitalist-to-be in Charles Dickens *Hard Times* Book 2 Chapter 1 (1854)
- 5 J R P Friedman *Regional development policy: a case study of Venezuela* MIT (1966)
- 6 H C Brookfield 'On one Geography and a Third World' *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers* 58 (1973)
- 7 Brian Griffiths *Morality and the market place* Hodder (1982)
- 8 F J Schuurman 'From resource frontier to periphery: agricultural colonization east of the Andes' *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 69 (1978)



'The dominance of metropole's culture and aspirations ensures that McDonalds will be preferred to the local products'. Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Jeffrey Archer

First among novelists?



There was a good deal of hilarity when Margaret Thatcher appointed Jeffrey Archer as Deputy Chairman of the Conservative Party. Even a best-selling imaginative novelist, said the Opposition, would be hard pressed to promote the virtues of Margaret Thatcher's policies. Archer smiled inscrutably and referred his critics to his most recent novel, completed before the appointment. *First Among Equals* was an epic spanning the years from 1930 to 1990, and chronicling in highly readable style the parliamentary landscape of Margaret Thatcher's rise to the premiership.

Believability has always been one of Jeffrey Archer's strengths. His first book, *Not a Penny More, Not a Penny Less*, had the ring of truth, written as it was in a state of poverty following a financial collapse which was not of his own making. The plot of the novel features a syndicate of businessmen each of whom has been swindled by the same man. The syndicate methodically sets out to take the villain for exactly the same amount of money – hence the title.

His second book, *Shall We Tell the President?*, is a gripping, authentic tale of attempted assassination which moves with faultless pace to its climax. Before his next novel, he published *A Quiver Full of Arrows*, a collection of short stories; then came *Kane and Abel*, which portrays the interwoven lives of two tycoons whose paths, beginning in opposite sides of the world, clash inexorably. My own suspicions that this Archer plot was really too far-fetched were laid to rest when one day, on the bus to Farnham, I sat next to an 80-year-old Latvian exile who told me her life story. She had never heard of Jeffrey Archer, but I listened in awe as she recited a Latvian version of the first few chapters of *Kane and Abel*.

The Prodigal Daughter was published as a sequel to that book, but disappointed many of its readers by retelling the story of the earlier novel in the first large section – albeit from a different viewpoint and through a different pair of eyes. It chronicled a woman's rise to political greatness and adroitly left the story open for further sequels/retellings. And then came *First Among Equals*, by which time he was a millionaire and could afford to take, as he did, the Deputy Chairmanship without a salary.

His most recent book *A Matter of Honour*, was delivered to his publishers before he took up the post, and for the present, apparently, no further books are in the offing. When he does resume, it will not be financial necessity that drives him. All his books have been international bestsellers.

Pedigree

The fairytale rise from financial ruin to millionaire is not the only reason that Jeffrey Archer is one of the current darlings of the popular literary scene. His pedigree is impeccable: educated at Wellington and Brasenose College, Oxford, he was a brilliant athlete at university, county and national levels, and then went on to win the Louth by-election in 1969, when he became the youngest member of the House of Commons.

Today, he is often in the news. He was one of the first, and certainly the best-publicized, novelists to use a word processor; his recent novels have been promoted by innovative prepublishing in Sunday newspapers and massive prime time advertising; and (to the fascination of the media) he still runs in the fathers' race at his children's school sports day.

Context

Glamour and notoriety alone do not make for best sellers, however, as the remainder shelves of any bookshop will confirm. So why are the novels of Jeffrey Archer so popular? He has been compared with Anthony Trollope and John Galsworthy; is this simply reviewers' hype?

His success owes a great deal, I am sure, to the fact that he is a good exponent of one of today's most popular literary forms: the long novel. And the fact that long novels are popular today is itself remarkable.

Novels for leisure

The long novel had its heyday in the nineteenth century, when the circulating libraries were booming and many novelists adapted their storytelling to suit the demands of the three-volume novel market.

It became a cruel master for such writers as, for example, the hacks portrayed by George Gissing in *New Grub Street*. The length of Gissing's novel allows him a canvas large enough

to say what he wanted to say comprehensively, but that was not why he wrote a large book. His novel simultaneously serves and attacks the system he despises. His own most confessional writing was not a novel at all; *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* is firmly in the field of belles-lettres.

The three-volume novel came to prominence in an age of privilege, short working hours, hardly any working women, and cheap servant labour. It was a leisured age, at least for those who could read, and the reading public demanded large novels.

But our own day, with many working wives, overtime widely accepted, housework for almost everybody, and the competing attractions of television on top, hardly has the same kind of leisure. And yet the large novel again dominates the best-seller lists – surely a strange phenomenon.

The reason cannot be our present massive unemployment problem and enforced leisure, for that came after the return of long novels, though it probably perpetuates the demand for bulk reading.

I would suggest that there are several different reasons why the long popular novel is so successful at the moment. Several novelistic approaches need space and length to operate. For example:

- There is the broad canvas approach – exemplified in the past by novels like JB Priestley's *Good Companions* or John Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga*. In these, the author creates not only a world but a history, and because the novel is long the reader becomes at home and expert in that history. A modern exponent is RF Delderfield, who resurrected the multi-volume novel.

- There is the approach of *informed specialism*, in which the author fills his novel with the fine detail of a world which most readers will not otherwise know of. Frederick Forsyth is a typical master of this genre; *The Dogs of War* is a detailed description of how to organize and conduct a mercenary war, and *The Odessa File* opens up the world of Nazi-hunters in post-war Germany. There are few immediate antecedents for this strand, though the scientific novels of HG Wells and the spiritualist *Land of Mist* by Conan Doyle are perhaps relevant.

- Another approach is that of *parallel plots*, where an author will set several people and their stories going at the start



of the novel, and intertwine them relative to an overall environment while allowing them only minimal interaction. A modern writer using this device extensively is Arthur Hailey, whose *Airport* and *Hotel* are simply a group of independent characters at large in the novel's world. Usually in such novels a climactic point is reached where characters who have previously not interacted are brought together in a closed space – an aeroplane, a lift, etc. – and drama is created by their very juxtaposition.

Again, there are few immediate predecessors; Priestley's characters are numerous, but are usually very inter-related; Neville Shute comes close, as does Anthony Trollope, but I think it's fair to say that several plots operating independently with minimal interaction is a quite modern phenomenon.

• Another approach might be called the

catalogue style – the careful itemizing of quite detailed minutiae of dress, habit, and social customs. The most obvious recent practitioner was Ian Fleming, whose James Bond novels often lapse into whole pages that read like an Asprey's or Harrod's mail order catalogue.

In a long novel, this approach adds flesh to the bones of the plot. It helps believability, and feeds one of the main hungers of the reader of popular novels – the desire to know what the rich and famous do on their days off. It is a technique of escapism.

• **Tension building.** Many bestsellers use the long novel form to gradually tighten the suspense of a nerve-jangling plot, often helping the process by carefully placed and escalating climaxes of violence. Ken Follett's novels demonstrate this well, the most compelling and violent

being *The Eye of the Needle*. His recent *Man from St Petersburg*, where he abandoned the approach in favour of a more orthodox novelistic form, was noticeably slack by comparison. The same technique has been used effectively by Stephen King in horror novels such as *Carrie* and *Pet Semetary*.

• **Easy Pickings.** The final element that I would suggest in the popularity of the large novel – though there are many more – is the fact that it is quite simply easier to write a long novel than a short one.

It is certainly easier to read one. In a hurried age, few novels are likely to be read at a single sitting unless it be on a beach in Majorca or in bed with 'flu. A spacious plot allows you to pick up the threads more easily. Shorter novels are more demanding. Relatively few novels of recent years that have been celebrated as literary successes are of the order of five or six hundred pages, as one can see from the Booker Prize short lists and the catalogues of imprints like Picador and Paladin.

Master storyteller

Jeffrey Archer's novels are strong in all these areas, but the reviews reveal where his major strength lies. 'Engrossing, well-spun tale'... 'fast-moving'... 'full of incident'... 'a book of pace, tension and interest', were some verdicts on *First Among Equals*. 'Archer tells a tremendous story in masterly fashion'... 'a gift for plot that can only be described as genius'... 'true to form, Archer keeps the real teaser until the last few pages of this long book', the critics commented on *Kane and Abel*.

The quality referred to time and again is readability, and in the case of Archer this is a function of plot. He constructs his books meticulously. He makes use of the catalogue approach, for which he carries out thorough research; his books are well-informed on their topics; the scale is usually of great breadth. But the real impact comes through structure and pace.

In *Kane and Abel*, for example, the rise of Wladek Koskiewicz (later Abel) from horrific oppression and poverty to wealth is made much more poignant by its constant juxtaposition with that of the well-born William Kane on the other side of the world. The gradual converging of the two men's paths is managed with a virtuosic range of technical skills.

The pace of the book accelerates as you read, and consequently the interest level increases as well. Abel's career is in hotels, Kane's in banking, but whereas in Hailey's *Hotel* and *The Moneychangers* much of the reader interest comes from the sheer fascination of how such institutions are run, Archer is concerned with a more encompassing perspective, as can be seen by comparing, in the televised versions of Archer's and Hailey's novels, the amount of screen time spent in portraying routine administration.

The essential simplicity of Archer's plots appears in the denouement of *Kane and Abel*, and less successfully (because ▶

◀ more predictable) in *First Among Equals*. But it is a simplicity that works by creating a complex structure while identifying its main elements clearly. In this, Archer ranks with the great storytellers – Dickens, Trollope and the rest.

Character

The sheer craft of the telling can, however, mask less successful areas of Archer's books, and one of these is characterization.

He has little time for the light and shade with which characters are created. One of the reasons for the success of the television *Kane and Abel*, I suspect, is that the characters were visually acceptable because Archer gives so few clues in the novel as to what they actually look like. Nor are there many clues as to how their words are spoken; dialogue is often presented as pages of speech with the speakers only apparent by context. The speeches have to do all the work.

This is a problem, because a real weakness in Archer is his dialogue. Characters simply do not talk differently enough from each other. In the international crisis at the end of *First Among Equals*, the naval officers sound like the cabinet minister and vice versa. All Parliamentary oratory sounds the same in Archer. One looks in vain for the finely-shaded speaking styles of the characters in Maurice Edelman's 1950's parliamentary novels such as *Who Goes*

Home?, though that is not nearly such a well-structured narrative. In *Kane and Abel*, once Abel has become a wealthy American businessman he sounds just like Kane.

Dimensions

As a result, I believe that Jeffrey Archer's work ultimately stands outside the company of the great novelists to whom he has sometimes been compared. His characters are memorably not for what they say and are, but for what they do.

That is why the short stories in *Quiver Full of Arrows* are good but not great. They have the brilliance of plot of masters such as O Henry and Roald Dahl, but the genre is much more demanding than that, and Archer does not have the technical armoury to match the skills of dialogue and characterization possessed by a Penelope Mortimer or for that matter a Stephen King. Archer's achievements are solidly in the genre of the long novel, and his short stories are somewhat reminiscent of the Wagnerian singer Kirsten Flagstad singing Schubert songs – 'a battleship negotiating a fjord', as one critic unkindly put it.

It is also why *Shall We Tell the President?* was such a successful novel. It fell neatly into the genre of pulp bestseller, but was told with literary skill and flair. The plot is everything in that novel, and any character development at all is a bonus.

The rudimentary characterization and

dialogue in Jeffrey Archer's novels has a major consequence in terms of the reader's experience of the novel. It is a novel of spectacle rather than involvement, of portrayal rather than interpretation. Archer does not radically reinterpret British politics of the past half-century; he portrays them from a radically unfamiliar angle. He does not particularly question the capitalist society that produced Kane and Abel (though he does criticize the atrocities that Abel experienced in his early life); he portrays what life is like in the unfamiliar higher reaches of it.

It might be argued that Trollope, for example, does not criticize the world of the Pallisers; yet he does, in that he is constantly allowing his characters to critique themselves who live in it. Jeffrey Archer's characters do not have that kind of individual life; the interest of the novel is in the situation in which they find themselves.

The result is that the reader is most likely, I suspect, to marvel at what he reads, and be enthralled by it, but emerge from the novel essentially unchanged. The criterion of greatness in literature, however, is surely that it should in some way change the person who reads it. Fiction that entertains, educates and informs – all of which Jeffrey Archer's novels do superbly – without adding an extra dimension of critique and transformation, to whatever degree, must always fall short of the final accolades. ●



An occasional feature in which we gather samples of the wit and wisdom of the centuries. Readers are invited to send in their own favourite snippets (though the editor cannot guarantee to use all material submitted).

The essence of sin is disobedience to God. It is our 'natural' condition, and even as Christians, we find that its effects dog us right to the grave. It is the attempt to be autonomous, to decide for oneself what is right and wrong, and always takes the form of failure to reach God's standards, or of deliberately crossing the boundary of God's law. As we examine society, we dare not

overlook the tendency to sin, and we must never forget that our own study will be tainted by the same sin. Sin is pervasive and subtle, it can be both individual and social, and its effects not only displease God, but injure the personality and the group. God's way is not only 'right' in itself, but is the best way.

David Lyon *Christians and sociology* IVP (1975)

Among the most dangerous people in our media-soaked culture are leaders who believe their own press releases. I remember once being honoured at a large conference. I could only stay for twenty-four hours because of family commitments. The time was full of special luncheons and autograph parties and media interviews. By the end of the twenty-four hours I told Carolyn 'We have to get out of here. I'm beginning to believe all those things people are saying about me'.

Richard Foster *Money, Sex and Power* Hodder (1985)

In America we don't ask 'what's right and what's wrong', we ask 'what's right and what's left'.

Patricia Schroeder, Democratic Congresswoman – on *Channel 4 News*, 17.6.86, commenting on US attitude to South Africa.

At a party when I was twenty I accidentally let slip a mathematical term to the man I was dancing with, whom I had known for several years. There was genuine shock and some indignation in his voice when he commented, 'I had no idea you were clever'. Clearly he felt cheated. He had accepted in good faith what he believed to be a real woman, and here I was revealed to be counterfeit. We never saw each other again.

Ursula Huws 'Hireeth' *Truth, dare or promise: girls growing up in the fifties* Virago (1985)

The fact of the Crucifixion does not depend on theory, but a fact like the Atonement can be separated from theory of some kind only by suffusion of sentiment on the brain, some ethical anaemia, or a scepticism of the spiritual intelligence.

P T Forsyth 'The Atonement in modern religious thought' *The Christian World* 23 November 1899

I reject at once an idea which lingers in the mind of some modern people that cultural activities are in their own right spiritual and meritorious – as though scholars and poets were intrinsically more pleasing to God than scavengers and bootblacks.

C S Lewis 'Learning in wartime' (1939) *Fern-seed and Elephants* Fontana (1975)

STEVE GREENHILL

Caravaggio

A portrait in light and shadow

It must have been with a great sigh of relief that Derek Jarman finally wrapped up the filming of this, his most cherished project. During its seven year genesis it underwent seventeen script rewrites. It was eventually filmed in a warehouse on the Isle of Dogs, once finance became available through the *British Film Institute's* Production Board and *Channel 4*. Its overall budget of less than half a million pounds is small by any standards for a feature film. But within that constraint Jarman has created a film about the seventeenth century Italian painter with a style entirely in keeping with its subject matter.

The film opens in a house at Porte Ercole, Tuscany in 1610 where Michelangelo Caravaggio (Nigel Terry) lies dying. While tended by his dumb friend Jerusaleme, he hallucinates events in his life. Flashbacks show the young Caravaggio (Dexter Fletcher) in Rome some twenty years earlier where he sells his paintings as well as his body on the streets, until he comes under the patronage of Cardinal Del Monte (Michael Gough). Much of the film is taken up with the intense triangular relationship between the older Caravaggio, his male lover Ranuccio Thomasoni and Lena, a prostitute, resulting in the wounding of one and the

violent death of the other two.

Appropriate anachronism

But this is no 'biopic' in the same way that *Lust for Life* was for Van Gogh, or *The Agony and the Ecstasy* was for Michelangelo. Instead it presents Caravaggio as a modern man, utilizing some incidents from his life as a starting point and distorting others for dramatic effect. The lack of superficial historical fidelity is highlighted in the use of anachronistic contemporary artefacts such as a typewriter, a pocket calculator or a motorbike. Caravaggio himself utilized contemporary objects in his biblical paintings; hence the device not only helps to bridge the historical gap, but is appropriate to his style of painting. Lack of finance may have necessitated that the entire film be shot in the studio, but this is also consistent: nearly all of Caravaggio's paintings were interiors. This has allowed Jarman to recreate 'the stillness of the studio', without compromising the visual effect of the film: the eye is at times ravished with the striking reds of a cardinal's cloak, the glitter of gold coins or the immaculately lit 'tableaux vivants' from which Caravaggio paints his pictures.

In reproducing Caravaggio's paintings for the film, Jarman has adopted the

underpainted look of an unfinished work. This was partially due to the almost impossible task of attempting to copy them in full size from small photographs, but in the event it serves to make his tableaux look more like the originals than do his reproductions. Jarman and his cinematographer, Gabriel Beristain, went to some lengths to reproduce the *chiaroscuro* of Caravaggio's work; that stark contrast between light and dark that makes the figures in his paintings stand out from their gloomy surroundings in dramatic relief. This effect is well portrayed on film; for example, Caravaggio strides down the Vatican's draughty corridors which are represented merely by black curtains.

Among the paintings recreated for the film is *Eros Victorious* for which Jarman uses a clothed girl: a device necessitated by censorship problems that would inevitably arise from using a twelve year old male nude, yet reproducing that curious feminine quality that pervaded Caravaggio's depiction of boys. Caravaggio purportedly used the swollen corpse of a prostitute for his *The Death of the Virgin*, leading to its rejection; in the film this is woven into the narrative by the use of Lena's corpse after it has been dragged from the Tiber.

Restrained

Caravaggio was a hot-tempered and violent man who had an unsavoury reputation for his involvement in street brawls as well as the murder of Ranuccio. The evidence upon which the film portrays him as gay is at best flimsy: poor Caravaggio has been dragged from the closet whether or not he was in it in the first place. Doubtless, it was this aspect of his character, or at least his marginal sexuality, that was one of the attractions for Jarman. His 1975 film *Sebastiane*, based on the story of the martyred saint, inevitably drew criticism for its explicit homoerotic content. Last year's screenings on *Channel 4* of *Sebastiane* and his prophetic *Jubilee* brought down upon Jarman the wrath of Winston Churchill and Mary Whitehouse who singled him out as the kind of filmmaker from whose work Churchill's *Obscenities Bill* was designed to protect us. *Caravaggio* will disappoint them: given the subject matter the film is most restrained, to the point of respectability.

Pre-release publicity for the film has stressed the parallels between Jarman and Caravaggio. Certainly, Caravaggio scandalized the public of his time by the way he depicted religious themes, but was shielded to a large extent by wealthy and influential patronage. Jarman as yet does not enjoy that luxury, and it is to be hoped that he will not remain on the margins of film-making to which Ken Russell has been consigned to as the result of reactionary criticism. *Caravaggio* may not be the masterpiece that many were anticipating, but at least provides a welcome example of a British cinema which looks towards Europe rather than America. ●



RIGHT: Nigel Terry as Caravaggio.

ABOVE: Tilda Swinton as Lena.



MICHAEL LeROY

FIGHTING • ON • ALL • FRONTS

Charity versus Politics

British evangelical thinking has made a significant shift over the last fifteen years or so. Social involvement is firmly on the agenda for a wide range of evangelical groupings, even if the evidence in terms of action is still comparatively paltry. In Roger Dowley's phrase, what has been occurring is a 'recovery of a lost bequest'.¹ The shift in thinking has been based on a rediscovery of earlier ages of evangelicalism, when social responsibility was very much the partner of evangelism.

But unless evangelicals resolve their emerging conflicts on agenda and methods, there will be a destructive divergence and a dissipation of effort that will simply mirror the political and cultural divisions of the wider society, and negate any claim to a distinctive Christian role.

For many the shift from personal care to organized care, and from organized care to politics, represents a descending order from the safe to the dubious, from the clearly biblical to the questionable. Others – and they are probably a smaller and more vocal minority – have become fully immersed in political issues and methods, and wonder at what they see as the unnecessary timidity of those standing on the beach, wincing as they dip their toes in political waters. Jim Wallis' recent speaking tour in Britain has introduced many to a campaigning and political style uncommon among evangelicals in this country.

The argument that Christians should not become embroiled in political issues has been revived in recent years by discussion of Edward Norman's *Reith Lectures* in 1978, and by the more recent symposium *The kindness that kills*, with the pointed subtitle 'The churches' simplistic response to complex social issues'.² At a time when evangelicals are moving into political issues there has been a cross-current to unsettle them, and one that encouraged the waverers to waver more. These new critics would confine the church's role on social issues to charity: the provision of welfare and

involvement in caring for the elderly, the sick, the homeless and others in need.

The recent introduction of the term 'Samaritanism' to describe Christian social responsibility is, however, hopelessly inadequate. The parable of the Good Samaritan simply represents one facet of neighbour-love. To rely solely on this text is to fall into the common trap of reducing care for others solely to individualism. Christian social responsibility has a much wider and stronger base, in the theology of creation, of the law, of redemption, resurrection and future hope. All point to much more extensive responsibilities for other people, including enemies, and for the whole created order. The law, for instance, contains foundations for justice and charity, and has within it structures to constrain the extremes of wealth and poverty – a redistributive economic system that bears no relation to socialism.

The advocates of 'Samaritanism' point to Victorian social activists as their model. However if we look at how the Victorian evangelical activists actually worked, we may discover a much less limited picture, and reach a less simplistic conclusion. I propose therefore to take two slices through evangelical history to examine the character of social Christian social responsibility in earlier ages and use this to form the basis of a debate about the appropriateness of Christian involvement in charity and welfare, and in politics and social reform. The first period is the era of William Wilberforce, leading to the time of Lord Shaftesbury, from the 1780s to the 1870s³; the second, the years of the Nonconformist Conscience, from the 1870s to the outbreak of the First World War.⁴

Trend

There is a discernible trend from one era to the next. Wilberforce's main objective was to effect abolition of the slave trade through political pressure within Parliament. Lord Shaftesbury's most obvious achievements were also through

parliamentary legislation, but in addition he encouraged the establishment of numerous charitable societies providing care for the needy, from which there flowed a whole stream of welfare organizations. Political campaigns were the style that earned the label 'the Nonconformist Conscience' and this era was marked not so much by the establishment of new charities, but by the formation of *Free Church Federal Councils* in hundreds of localities, to debate spiritual, social and political issues and to exert the pressure of informed, Christian public opinion on the governments of the day. It is an oversimplification to outline the trend as one of reform through Parliament, leading to reform through welfare, leading to reform through public campaign, because elements of each existed in the times of Wilberforce, Shaftesbury and the Nonconformist Conscience; yet the changing emphasis was broadly of this kind.

William Wilberforce and Lord Shaftesbury have tended to be typecast as the campaigners, respectively, for the abolition of the slave trade and for the establishment of the *Factory Acts*, but both men had a far wider influence in politics and Parliament, and in moral leadership of the nation. Both also laid great stress on their relationship with God, on prayer and personal spirituality. During the time of both men their evangelical supporters were as involved in forming missionary societies as they were in generating welfare work at home. Charles Simeon of the Clapham Sect – of which Wilberforce was the leading light – was known most for his preaching and biblical ministry and not for political reform.

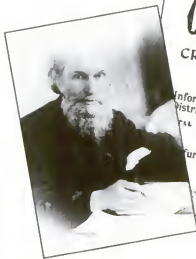
Charities

In 1798 the Clapham Sect founded the *Society for Bettering the Conditions and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*, and from that source flowed an ever growing stream of charities, three-quarters of which were evangelical in character. New charities were formed at an average of six each year, until in the 1860s there were nearly 500 charities concerned with alleviating the conditions of prostitutes, the poor, children, factory workers, and a host of other needy people. They ranged from the *Society for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes to the East End Juvenile Mission* which developed into Dr Barnardo's Homes. So sizeable was this new arm of welfare that in 1853 the government appointed the *Charity Commissioners* to oversee it.

Many of these charities still flourish today. Lord Shaftesbury was either the founder or the leading light of the *British and Foreign Bible Society*, the *YMCA*, *John Groom's Association for the Disabled*, the *Ragged School Union* (later renamed the *Shaftesbury Society*), and many other organizations. It is less well known that he was vice-president of the *National Society for the Prevention of*



TOP LEFT: Lord Shaftesbury with donkey, from RSPCA's 'Animal World' Nov. 1885. TOP RIGHT: 'Capital and Labour' - exploitation in the mines. RIGHT: Rev Benjamin Waugh, NSPCC Director.



Cruelty to Children and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, as well as the National Anti-Vivisection Society.

Many evangelical ministers set up relief agencies attached to their churches. John Venn divided the Parish of Clapham into eight districts, each of which had a visitor who regularly called on the sick and needy. His son, also John, formed the *Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious*, which enabled the poor to rent allotments cheaply and buy coal at a reduced price. Rowland Hill's *Surrey Chapel* had a school of industry, a society for the relief of poor women and several almshouses attached to it.

Reform

Evangelicals at the time of Wilberforce and Shaftesbury were often critics of radical politics and cast fearful eyes at Jacobinism in mainland Europe. But in a different way they were radical critics and reformers of Parliament and society. They were conservatives in regard to revolutionary thinking that challenged authority itself, but were radical in their attempts to reform society. There is that well-known statement from Wilberforce's diary, 'God Almighty has set before me two great objects, the suppression of the slave trade and the reformation of manners'.

Nineteenth century evangelicals saw the slavery issue in a rather different light from the poverty issue. Their treatment of poverty was through direct welfare and a few schemes to generate work, rather

than through an attack on the root causes. The lengths to which they took their concern for the condition of black people, on the other hand, earned the derisive name 'nigger worshippers'. In Africa Thomas Fowell Buxton developed proposals for replacing slave trade in the economy by agriculture and commerce. 'The real remedy, the true ransom for Africa, will be found in her fertile soil; it is the Bible and the plough which must regenerate Africa', he said.³

In his wake, Shaftesbury was at the head of virtually every campaign to get humanitarian legislation through Parliament in the mid-nineteenth century. His unflagging efforts ensured the outlawing of employment of women and boys under ten in the coal mines; regulated lunatic asylums; placed the *10 Hours Act* on the law books; established government grants to enable a thousand young people from the ragged schools to emigrate and start a new life; and introduced one of the first pieces of legislation to improve housing conditions, when he guided through Parliament the *Common Lodging Houses Act*.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN CROYDON AND DISTRICT BRANCH.

Information of ill-treatment or Neglect of Children in this District should be sent to the Hon. Secretary,
Mr. J. G. LINCOLN,
6, PARK STREET, CROYDON.
Further Inquiries, Proceedings, and Expenses will be undertaken by the Society.
Names of Informants kept strictly private.

There were many lesser-known evangelicals active in carrying out similar work to Shaftesbury's. In the fifty years before the great *Reform Bill* of 1832, over a hundred evangelicals sat in the House of Commons, and a similar number in the House of Lords. Spencer Perceval was hardly a celebrated Prime Minister, but he was an evangelical, who held office from 1807 to 1812. In the same century there were two evangelicals who held office as Chancellor of the Exchequer and two others who served as Colonial Secretaries.

Evangelicals in Parliament were a powerful influence in changing the style and agenda of government. They generated a climate in which self-interest, factions and protection of the interests of the wealthy and the powerful came under attack, and in which the first loyalty was to principle rather than party. To a House of Commons that had been largely obsessed by issues of economics, taxation and landed interests, they introduced a new agenda, covering what they saw as the major issues of principle of their day, issues of humanity and justice. Most



Wilberforce holding the Slave Trade Abolition Bill.

◀ evangelical parliamentarians were supporters of the *Reform Bill* and, following an age in which the voices of the wealthy few were heard often to the exclusion of the many, they encouraged the voice of the wider electorate.

Even so, they were by no means radical across the range of parliamentary issues: Wilberforce was one of the secret committee whose report led directly to the passing of the notorious *Six Acts*, which established something we would now call a state of emergency: the press was restricted, public meetings were banned and there was imprisonment without trial. Even more reactionary was his vigorous opposition to the setting up of an enquiry over the Peterloo Massacre in 1819, and in 1799 he proposed legislation that formed the basis of the *Combination Act*, outlawing all trade union activity.

Morality

As well as the abolition of the slave trade, and the factory acts, Wilberforce, Shaftesbury and their contemporary evangelicals were at the heart of the battle for issues of personal morality. In 1787 evangelicals persuaded George III to issue a proclamation 'for the encouragement of piety and virtue' and ensured its enforcement through the campaigning work of the *Society for the Suppression of Vice*. They acted as moral policemen on issues such as drunkenness, prostitution, pornography, gambling and

the observance of Sunday. Evangelical MPs even attempted to prevent adultery through a law which would have prohibited the marriage of a divorced person to the co-respondent cited in the divorce case; but this failed to achieve a majority in Parliament.

What is clear is that evangelicals in the era of Wilberforce and Shaftesbury placed great emphasis on legislative reform and parliamentary pressure; that they added to this a whole industry of charitable effort providing direct relief and campaigning for different standards of personal morality; that they mobilized local churches and city missions to care for the needy; that evangelism, church life and personal spirituality were much in evidence; but that their most radical acts were largely confined to international issues and that at home their reforms challenged society and government through the normal, parliamentary procedures.

Campaigning

The era of the Nonconformist Conscience had a span of only forty years or so, and was significantly different from the time of Wilberforce and Shaftesbury. Sylvester Horne was simultaneously a Congregational minister and an MP, and it was he who said 'We believe politics may be as truly sacred a task as theology'.⁶ Political campaigning was the emphasis of this era more than charitable activity. They believed that legislation could

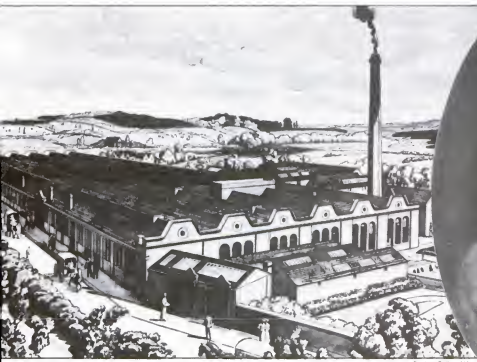
improve the character of the nation, and pressed for this by a series of campaigns, including mass meetings in Hyde Park, concerned with international issues as well as questions of personal morality. Most of the political acts of Nonconformity in this era were negative. They were urgent campaigns for the removal of wrongs.

Late nineteenth century Nonconformity cut its political teeth on the repeal of the *Contagious Diseases Acts*, which compelled prostitutes to undergo medical examination every three months. The opposition to these acts had early feminist overtones. The Acts were seen as discriminatory because they put no restraint on the men who used the prostitutes. After fourteen years of campaigning, Nonconformists and other Christians achieved the suspension of the Acts, which were abolished in 1886. It was like a young fox tasting his first chicken blood: Nonconformists developed a taste for political power, and there followed twenty or thirty years of political intervention and high political profile for leading churchmen. The trend was not confined to Nonconformity and in fact the first *Social Purity Society* was founded by the Church of England.

After a flamboyant campaign by the Congregational journalist, W T Stead, the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* was passed in 1885 to eliminate child prostitution, by raising the age of consent from thirteen to sixteen. Three hundred or so local *Vigilance Associations* brought pressure to bear on issues of personal morality. A Zola novel and a Rabelaisian illustration were banned. In 1908 the *NSPCC*, supported by Nonconformity, ensured that incest was established as a crime.

The old themes of temperance and campaigns against gambling were still to the fore, but Nonconformists took on more central national issues too. Until the rise of the Labour Party, they were strongly identified with the Liberal Party, and most supported Gladstone on Home Rule for Ireland (until the discovery of Parnell's adulterous relationship). But they led public opinion, rather than following the government line, on the Bulgarian issue and the Armenian issue. On both occasions Turkey was accused of vicious suppression of minorities and the Government of the day was pressed into action in support of the oppressed peoples.

A central issue for Nonconformists was to ensure religious equality in issues of education. This campaign however had only limited success, and illustrated the weakness of the Nonconformist Conscience. They could generate strong feeling and protest on certain issues, but often they could not secure their goals against determined opposition. The campaigns were, in the main, carried on by ministers and ordinary church people outside Parliament, despite there being an increasing number of Nonconformists in Parliament: in 1868 there were 53, by



George Cadbury and the Bourneville factory.

Courtesy Cadbury Ltd



1880 this had increased to 90 and by 1906 the number had doubled to 181. Yet there were no men of the calibre and reputation of Wilberforce or Shaftesbury, and none had the close support, prayer, guidance and correction that Wilberforce received through his friends in the Clapham Sect.

Opposition

The Nonconformist Conscience had most influence when their party was in opposition, which was for twenty-two of the thirty years from 1874. Their forte was criticism. Disillusionment came when, with a large Liberal majority in power in 1908, they failed to achieve their desired education settlement. In 1909 an anonymous publication called *Nonconformity and Politics* was issued, with the message that political activity was secularizing the Free Churches. The author was probably a Congregational Minister, H W Clark, and his thesis found echoes with those who felt that their churches had over-concentrated on politics. The rise of the Labour Party brought to a close the era in which Nonconformists tended to speak in the same political key. By 1910 the Nonconformist Conscience had come to an end.

The constructive acts of this era were rather more successful. W P Hartley, a Primitive Methodist jam manufacturer, introduced profit-sharing for his employees. Ebenezer Howard's visionary book *Tomorrow: a peaceful path to real reform* was the main origin of the 'new towns' movement and led directly to the development of Letchworth New Town from 1903 onwards. There was the earlier example of W H Lever, the Congregational soap manufacturer, in constructing a new village at Port Sunlight, and George Cadbury's pioneering work in founding Bourneville; but the new towns, in which over half a million people

live in Britain today, owe their origin mainly to the era of the Nonconformist Conscience.

So with the exception of some minor but significant Acts of Parliament, such as those on the age of consent and against incest, the most lasting legacy of the Nonconformist Conscience is probably in their constructive reforms in employment and town development. No doubt some Armenians and Bulgarians had reason to be eternally thankful for Nonconformist intervention, but otherwise their political achievements seem meagre when compared with those of the era of Wilberforce and Shaftesbury. There is evidence that an over-emphasis on a particular kind of political activity at the expense of other aspects of church life, dissipated the energies of once vigorous congregations.

Both and . . .

Relationship with God, social welfare and politics were indivisible aspects of life for Wilberforce and Shaftesbury. Their agenda was not, in the main, that of the radicals of their day, but their concerns challenged the establishment and vested interests, not just by example, but by confrontation and the use of a range of political methods. Their example suggests that politics and social welfare are not alternatives. We need to employ a range of appropriate methods that will include both.

Housing needs, for example, will not be solved by Christians and churches establishing housing associations, but there are tens of thousands to whom housing associations have given better homes. At the same time the present arrangements for mortgage interest relief are indefensible: they encourage house price inflation, they divert capital from other productive industry, they discriminate unjustly between owners and

tenants and they give more to those who can afford more. A reform of housing finance would have a more substantial and longer lasting effect than anything that could be done through charitable care. As Martin Luther King said 'Law cannot change men's hearts, but it can restrain the heartless'.

Much of the change in the nature of society that followed Wesley and the Evangelical Awakening, came from the accumulation of the changes in the lives of individuals and families, who affected their communities and their workplaces. But change of institutions occurs largely through institutional methods, and national and international issues require law, politics and diplomacy. The strength of the period of Wilberforce and Shaftesbury was that Christians operated at every possible level, through the direct work of the church, prayer and Christian teaching, personal care, organized care, charities, campaigns, politics and Parliament. Wilberforce and Shaftesbury were not quiet organizers of comfortable charities. They fought powerful men and evil social structures by every legitimate means in their reach. They would not have been content with personal Samaritanism to a few needy people – although they never lost sight of the need for personal and charitable care. They forced a significant shift in thought and action on concerns of justice. We need Christian charities and welfare. But unless we add to this care through political change we shall hardly ruffle the surface of the serious issues of our age. Those who have seen inside the workings of a political party in power will be aware of the tremendous strength and achievement that can flow from agreed ▷



'Sometimes we gain a measure of unity, as with the Keep Sunday Special campaign'.

◀ policies being applied to a clear programme by people highly motivated to change society.

Divergence

One difference between the era of Shaftesbury and Wilberforce and that of the Nonconformist Conscience is that the issues of the earlier period were more obviously those on which Christians could unite. There are, as yet, great divergences in evangelical thinking on many of the major issues of our day. Many Christians are concerned about unemployment, but the range of remedies they propose mirror the range within the political spectrum in the wider society. Similarly on nuclear arms, racial issues, crime and punishment, poverty, aid and international politics, we are far from finding a Christian consensus. One consequence is that we tend merely to reflect the secular ideologies and politics that surround us, and Christians motivated on these issues tend to work through secular organizations or Christian wings within them.

There must be more issues on which Christians can take a lead. There is a most interesting challenge in the book *Seeing Green* by Jonathan Porritt, director of *Friends of the Earth*:

'One of the most crucial tasks for Christians today is therefore to reinterpret the meaning of "dominion" in terms of stewardship and ecological responsibility for life on earth... Though it must be obvious to all church leaders that today's spiritual vacuum derives from the ascendancy of scientific materialism, they have so tamely accepted that religion and politics are two separate things that they are all but incapable of making any useful contribution to resolving today's appalling problems... Ours is a world crying out for leadership - for some kind of spiritual guidance.'

Defenders of the status quo

At present Christian voices rarely rise above grumbling or complaint. Sometimes we gain a measure of unity to campaign, as with the abortion issue or the *Keep Sunday Special* campaign. But there is little sign yet of us affecting other and major issues of our age, by sustained political leadership and influence or by constructive example. It is too easy for us to become the 'brakes' on society, always negative, rather than constructors of alternatives.

Throughout history Christians have misused biblical teaching on obedience to the state to become unquestioning supporters of the establishment, and so have - all too often - been identified with injustice, racism, powerful vested interests and the waging of war. Many of today's evangelicals would have been more likely to criticise Wilberforce rather than enable him to fight for the abolition of slavery. We would have compromised, pleaded the priority of evangelism, and lack of time because of our absorption in church meetings. We would have spoken of the interests of the traders, and would have been afraid of being identified with radicals and critics of government policy. Some might have gone as far as setting up charities for improvement of the conditions of slaves, or retirement homes for them. We might have waited for the last of the slave traders to be converted, but I see few signs that we would have expressed God's anger at oppression and injustice, and fought to see an end to it.

An inheritance to claim

It is usually easier for Christians to agree about provision of care for those in need, and for this reason there is likely to be a continuing and necessary emphasis on homes for the mentally handicapped, hospices for the dying, projects for drugs abusers, sheltered housing for the elderly, schemes for the unemployed, agricultural and water projects in the Third World. Some of these will be constructive models to change our thinking, but for most of these issues governmental and political action will be needed too.

It is here that we need to prove our worth, to show that peaceful, non-violent methods can still achieve change in society. If we do not, we will never demonstrate that we have claimed the inheritance of Wilberforce and Shaftesbury. ●

Notes

- 1 Roger Dowley *Towards the recovery of a lost bequest* Evangelical Coalition for Urban Mission (1983)
- 2 Digby Anderson (ed.) *The kindness that kills* SPCK (1984)
- 3 See Ian Bradley *A call to seriousness: the evangelical impact on the Victorians* Jonathan Cape (1978)
- 4 See David Bebbington *The Nonconformist Conscience: chapel and politics 1870-1914* George Allen & Unwin (1982)
- 5 Quoted in G. Moorhouse *The Missionaries* Methuen (1973)
- 6 C. Sylvester *Horne Pulpit, platform and Parliament* (1913)
- 7 Jonathan Porritt *Seeing Green: The politics of ecology explained* Basil Blackwell (1984)



Are they Hebrew?
So am I
Are they Israelites?
So am I
Are they descendants
of Abraham?
So am I
(2 Corinthians 11.22)

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THE VIEW FROM WESTMINSTER



Gideons wanted

On the whole the Christian influence on politics and politicians in the last century has left a warm afterglow well beyond the ranks of Christians themselves. The prevailing view is that at a time of increasing material prosperity and rational self confidence, the permeating influence on Victorian attitudes of the Christian folk of the day was broadly civilizing and moderated what could so easily have led to ugly developments.

Granted that some of the elements in the Christian coalition, including the 'non-conformist conscience' may now appear a trifle narrow, selective or capricious, the general view is surely that cumulatively these Christian influences were a force for good. Indeed Mrs Thatcher must believe, or at least did believe, that she can gain some political benefit today by appealing to notions of nineteenth century values as she defines them – however remote she may be said to be in practice from the one nation and social conscience of a Disraeli.

Malin influences?

Yet, there are voices far from convinced that the Christian influence put the Great into Britain.

Far from romanticizing that influence, Corelli Barnett, in *The Collapse of British Power* (1972) and now in *The Audit of War: the illusion and reality of Britain as a great nation*, identifies the seeds of British decline precisely in the malin influences of Christianity, and evangelical Christianity in particular, on national attitudes and values.

As one reviewer puts it: 'The evangelical revival produced the Arnoldian model of the "Christian Gentleman" which dominated the Victorian public school system. It turned a ruling class of hard-willed, hard minded realists into one of woolly minded moralists and amateurs, who lacked both the will and the training to defend what their forefathers had won. This class sacrificed the true requisites of national power – a ruthless pursuit of the national interest (by war if necessary) backed by the industrial sinews of war – to a romantic internationalism in foreign policy and laissez-faire in economic policy'. Corelli inveighs against William Beveridge and William Temple ('I shall regret the day when we become efficient at the cost of our spirit') and dismisses them as 'latter day White Knights riding out in wartime Britain to combat evil with the flashing sword of moral indignation and questing in simple faith for the grail of

human harmony and happiness.'

It is of course difficult to lay bare those deeper forces which determine the rise and decline of great nations; but Barnett has no doubt that the nineteenth century Christians were among the chief culprits in this country. It is an interesting thesis. I like to think however that, without that Christian input, we may indeed have become more efficient as a nation, but we would have become infinitely less civilized, less harmonious, less concerned for our 'neighbours'.

Giants

It is instructive to consider to what extent national values are still moulded today by these Christian giants of yesteryear. Does that conscience in factory and foreign field still influence the priorities of public opinion and the climate in which our politicians live, move and have their being?

In the domestic field we soon tired of strident calls for efficiency based on cuts in public spending on education, social services and health, when the effects on quality of provision, waiting lists and so on become apparent. On the foreign side I immediately think of the magnificent mass lobby in the autumn of last year in favour of overseas aid and development.

I well remember those tactics, akin to war. First, the bombardment by letter and personal visit to MPs to soften up the enemy in preparation for the big push. On the great day, this took the form of orderly queues of many thousands of people concerned not for their own personal gain but for the welfare of the poor and hungry of the world. No-one could fail to be impressed. And it had the desired effect. Intended cuts in the overseas aid budget were abandoned. Bob Geldof has shown in his own way that there is a constituency out there interested not in getting and spending but in reaching out to support their neighbour. Thank God, in the past and now, Christians are to the fore.

Victory

As we revisit gratefully the battlefield over the *Shops Bill*, does not that also tell us something of the nature and intent of that same constituency? According to all the conventional wisdom the Government should have had no difficulty. Instead, constitutional textbooks have to be revised – an overwhelming Government majority, a key item in the Queen's Speech, defeated on Second Reading. Quite unprecedented. What to man appears impossible is possible

with God. Let me advise the doubters to read and re-read the seventh chapter of the Book of Judges. 'And the Midianites and the Amalekites and all the children of the east lay along in the valley like grasshoppers for multitude; and their camels were without number, as the sand by the sea-side for multitude', yet: into the hand of Gideon hath God delivered Midian and all the host.

Will our response now be wise after that great victory? The Government has concluded that the whole issue of Sunday trading together with reform of the licensing laws, will as a result be off the political agenda for the foreseeable future. The *Keep Sunday Special Campaign*, Michael Schluter and his three hundred men, have blown their trumpets and broken their pitchers and the Government host have run and cried and fled.

Now, however, Ivor Stanbrook (Orrington), a leading figure in the *Keep Sunday Special* campaign, has argued that the opponents of the Government total deregulation Bill should feel obliged to produce an acceptable compromise. He introduced a Bill on May 13 which starts from the basic principle that Sunday is a special day to be supported by legal restrictions on the opening of shops. Subject to that principle, he proposes the deregulation of Sunday trading for all small shops (those with no more than three people working at any one time) and the removal of restrictions on garden centres.

Local option is suggested for larger shops which cater to the leisure and recreational needs of the public such as DIY stores. There is provision for holiday resorts and tourist areas. No shop that opens lawfully now would be subject to further restrictions. He claims his Bill would make the law of Sunday trading simple, fair and enforceable.

Positive moves

The Bill will make no progress this session. It does, however, provide a challenge to Christians in the political field to define their attitudes. It is clearly easier to join with others in a negative coalition than to reach agreement on positive proposals. I believe there is some merit in Ivor Stanbrook's attempt. I hope Christian opinion will not now reject it out of hand. The Lord will be with his Gideons no less at the negotiating table than in the heroics of the battlefield. ●

Next month: Simon Hughes

Critique

Poor thoughts

THE BIBLE, JUSTICE AND THE CULTURE OF POVERTY: Emotive Calls to Action versus Rational Analysis

Irving Hexham

Social Affairs Unit, 1985, 21 pp. £2.00

WEALTH AND POVERTY: A Jewish Analysis

Jonathan Sacks

Social Affairs Unit, 1985, 23 pp. £2.00

THE PHILOSOPHY OF POVERTY: Good Samaritans or Procrustians

Antony Flew

Social Affairs Unit, 1985, 21 pp. £2.00

THE CHRISTIAN RESPONSE TO POVERTY: Working with God's Economic Laws

James Sadowsky

Social Affairs Unit, 1985, 16 pp. £2.00

These four booklets, in a series called 'Taking Thought for the Poor', come from the same stable as *The Kindness that Kills*. Their stated aim is to be 'more constructive' than the latter and to demonstrate some positive thinking about poverty from religious and philosophical perspectives which avoid the 'emotive and simplistic' approaches of British church leaders. The authors are a professor of religious studies, a Jewish Rabbi, a non-religious philosopher and a Jesuit philosopher. The approaches range from the crassly to the reasonably rightwing.

Hexham's work alone attempts something like a Christian theological approach and so deserves the most attention here. He launches a vigorous attack on David Sheppard's *Bias to the Poor*, and seems to be saying:

- Sheppard's account of biblical justice as bias to the poor amounts to 'the whim of a God who acts arbitrarily';

- in fact, justice in the Bible is evendanded application of law;

- Sheppard's preference for biblical rather than Greek justice is mistaken because in order to apply biblical teaching to modern life we need philosophy;

- Sheppard's mistakes can be avoided by recovering a Christian humanism based on Aristotle's idea of justice;

- then, instead of Sheppard's emotional identification with the poor, justice will mean the fair and equitable application of law;

- Sheppard's romantic view of the poor leads him to ignore the role which working class attitudes play in perpetuating poverty.

As far as I can see, the third, fourth and fifth points are redundant, since the conclusion reached with Aristotle's aid in the fifth has already been reached, by biblical exegesis, in the second. Hence I do not understand the prominence Hexham gives to the hermeneutical issue (how we get from the Bible to the modern world). Nor do I see in Hexham's use of him, Aristotle's usefulness, since Hexham in fact abstracts from Aristotle's discussion of justice general principles whose presentation in Aristotle is as moulded by the Greek city state as the Old Testament presentation of justice is by ancient Israelite society. I suspect that Hexham and Sheppard could agree on Aristotle's *principle* of distributive justice but will disagree about its application in contemporary society as much as they do about the application of Old Testament principles. We need all the help we can get with the hermeneutical issue but I cannot see that Aristotle is any sort of panacea. And in any case, why Aristotle? If we need philosophy to apply biblical teaching, why not, with the liberation theologians, choose Marx? Hexham's choice is certainly not just a preference for 'rational analysis'.

There is, however a real problem about the use and misuse of the phrase 'bias to the poor' which arises also in Sacks' booklet. Hexham and Sacks quote the same texts (Exodus 23.3; Leviticus 19.15) to show that the Bible forbids a bias to the poor. These texts surely do not conflict with a proper understanding of the phrase – I take it David Sheppard does not want judges to let off murderers on grounds of poverty – but the phrase has potential for misunderstanding and we need some clear thinking about the sense in which the biblical God sides with the poor.

Rabbi Jonathan Sacks gives a most interesting account of views on poverty in rabbinic Judaism. The last paragraph is especially worth pondering: the rabbis 'succeeded where the prophets failed, in capturing the imagination of all classes of society. This turned them from an opposition party into a kind of informal government, with all that entailed in terms of responsibility, impartiality, and consideration of consequences...'. Because Christianity began with the New Testament's prophetic radicalizing of law, the prophetic attitude always seems the more authentically Christian one, but Christian leaders have often had to play a more 'rabbinic' role too. Hence the particular kind of wisdom the rabbis cultivated is worth Christian attention.

Professor Antony Flew writes with characteristic verve and sardonic wit,

pursuing his sharp distinction between Samaritans, who wish to relieve poverty by establishing a safety net, and Procrustians, who wish to eliminate or reduce inequality. Again there is a significant issue about the nature of justice. Flew insists on the traditional Western (originally Greek) view that justice assigns to each his due (*sum cuique*), but seems to assume – I almost said naively, but that cannot be the case – that this gives everyone a just right to whatever he or she 'earns', ignoring the question of criteria for distributive justice as well as the manifest impossibility of justifying current wage differentials by any such criteria. Their defenders talk pragmatically about incentives but rarely about justice.

Father Sadowsky argues – or rather asserts – that economic laws are the laws of God in the same way that the laws of physics are. Consequently Christian attempts to relieve poverty must work with these laws, and this seems to mean that attempts to regulate or correct the effects of a free market economy are misguided. Apart from obvious differences between economic and physical laws, this seems a little like saying that because floods occur according to physical laws it was misguided to build the Thames flood barrier.

'Effective compassion is thoughtful,' says Digby Anderson, who leaves his mark on all the booklets. Quite so. But let's be careful we do not use shoddy thought to quench compassion.

Richard Bauckham

THE STATE OF THE ART OR THE ART OF THE STATE? Strategies for the cultural industries in London.

Greater London Council, 1985, 176 pp. £2.00

ALTERED IMAGES Towards a strategy for London's cultural industries.

Greater London Enterprise Board, 1985, 26 pp. £1.00

Busy as you are, you cannot afford to ignore these publications. You may not have any interest in the world of the arts or culture; but with the arrival of the new technologies in television, video, radio, cable and satellite, culture is no longer about what a few upper class people watch in theatres or art galleries. Culture and art are teaching our children in school and bringing the marketplace into our living room. Our politics and economics are already being shaped by them. As Peter Pitt puts it in his Introduction to the first book, the next few years 'seem set to place leisure and culture at the top of the political and social agenda'. Leisure and culture are major centres of employment and economic activity, and they influence every aspect of our lives – more so than any other sector of economic activity.

So the preoccupations of these



The Porterfolio

David Porter takes
a backward look at the last month

My desk, where I am currently writing this piece, sits in front of a window that looks up the B3006 road from Greatham to Alton. That in itself is not particularly remarkable (though it is a very beautiful view and often distracts me from my work); but it is in fact a remarkably strategic stretch of road in the security and defence of our country. At least, I assume so, judging by the number of tanks and heavy armoured vehicles that go by regularly. I live near both Bordon and Aldershot military encampments, and they seem to engage in quite a few extended manoeuvres.

Lately I've taken a bit more interest in the military traffic than I used to, ever since a lady knocked on my door and announced herself as a part-time peace woman. Apparently her job was to stand on the corner outside my cottage and look out for cruise missile convoys, which she then reported to head office, presumably at Greenham. She had knocked on my door because she had noticed the strategic significance of my study window and wondered if I would be kind enough to take on the late night shift.

I am not at all in agreement with the women of Greenham Common (I can't see that, should hostilities begin, unfriendly Superpowers will be able to resist making Britain a nuclear target whether or not we have US Missiles on our soil); but I have very great admiration for their conviction, and I'm sorry if that sounds patronizing. So since then I have kept an eye out for the missiles, and just as soon as one appears on the horizon I will be

reaching for the telephone.

During the past month, however a different type of convoy has had many of us in Hampshire scanning the horizon. It hardly seems a year since the last solstice, but hippie season has broken out in the South of England, and what is fast becoming the ritual clash between unwaged druids and organized police control dominated much of the early summer.

Damage to the environment - trees uprooted for fuel, vehicle damage to fields, rubbish dumping and so forth - and antagonism between police and convoy have become traditional features of this annual event, but this year a new and frightening element entered: the terrorizing of local farmers.

The first farmer to experience this at first-hand was also the last; farmer vigilante patrols and co-operative barricading of property were soon arranged. That first farmer, however, saw his fields broken into and his winter feed trampled and destroyed. In practical terms, it meant that the farmer faced financial ruin. From that point on many Hampshire countryfolk were watching the roads at night in fear of seeing the convoy approaching.

All of which made the hippie leaders' defence sound rather hollow. 'The land belongs to everybody, nobody owns it'. True, but somebody has to look after it. The hippies seemed to have no concept of stewardship of natural resources, hence the trail of destruction they left behind. It would have been helpful if some of the commentators who spilt

much ink fulminating at them for being jobless had spent their time instead in critiquing the hippies' ecology.

On the wider, international scene, it's been a depressing month. England lost the World Cup through the genius of Diego Maradona, a stocky swarthy Argentine who moved like an angel and scored goals by the handful.

British hopes at Wimbledon were dashed at the point in the tournament where British hopes are usually dashed (ie in the early rounds), and patriotic delight that the Americans had also been knocked out by the semi-finals were somewhat subdued by the fact that it was also a distinctly East European final.

The spectacle of a dehydrated and dispirited Barry McGuigan losing his boxing title more or less closed off a chapter of catastrophe, not even redeemed by the charismatic Richard Branson's success in crossing the Atlantic in the powerboat *Virgin Atlantic II*, regaining the Atlantic Blue Riband for Britain and breaking a 34-year old record. The Americans considered that crossing in a 72-foot boat was not nearly so heroic as doing it in a 990-foot ocean liner and refused to hand the trophy back.

But it's not been all gloom and despondency. Bob Geldof was awarded a knighthood, on the recommendation of Sir Geoffrey Howe who had recently been abrasively criticized, in Geldof's own inimitable style, for his performance at the United Nations. This proves that Sir Geoffrey has either a strong sense of fair play or a strong sense of humour, or possibly both.

However, as Geldof is not by birth a British citizen, he will not be styled 'Sir Bob', and the Queen had to break with tradition in order to award the honour in person. In fact, he seems to get comparatively little out of the award at all.

Truly a case, one might say, of an honour without profit in his own country.

publications are neither arty nor philosophical (though both of these are clearly involved). These books are preoccupied rather with the economics of the arts, and the social framework in which they function. We are informed, for example, that British consumer spending on leisure reached an all time high of over £47bn in 1984, that the UK market for pre-recorded music peaked in 1978-79 with trade deliveries worth £249m (the next two years saw a drop of 30 per cent, and sales have remained depressed since then), and that the GLC and the London boroughs spent something of the order of £73m on sports and recreation in 1982-83 alone. Such figures concentrate the mind wonderfully. You can see at once the importance of the political wrangling over

how much money is going to be given to the arts, over how it is going to be spent, and over who gets the commissions or the work.

With a million people who have been unemployed for over a year, and are now being increasingly regarded as unemployable for the rest of their lives, the question of what is available popularly (on TV or its supplanted) is of vital social and political importance. The two million who have been unemployed for less than a year are potentially more employable, I gather from other sources, provided their morale can be kept up and they can be offered appropriate training. Will the media offer them circuses and demagoguery - mere sugar and spice - or a balanced and nutritious diet?

The first book offers detailed, chapter-length considerations of the record industry, of film, video, TV and cinema, of the book industry, of advertising, of sport, commerce and the mass media of the performing arts, and of the visual arts, before discussing the more wide-ranging issues of leisure policy, and of the cultural industries, cultural consumption and cultural policy. The second book gives an account of the work of the *Greater London Enterprise Board* in creating jobs through the cultural industries.

Don't let it put you off that both publications come out of the new thinking of the left, and are the fruit of the Labour Party's experience in governing London. You may disagree entirely with their prescriptions for the future, as well as with ▶

◀ their analyses. However, in the course of presenting their analyses and prescriptions, the two books provide a mass of sheer hard data that is not easily available elsewhere, and their way of thinking about the culture industries provides at least a model against which to test your own thinking. A third publication (also from the GLC) on a London Cultural Strategy, needs to be read along with these two books to perceive the whole orb of Labour thinking on the subject. Together, they will help the reader to understand at least one set of the forces that are engaged in the battle to determine the future of the arts and of British culture tomorrow.

Prabhu Gupta

MONEY, SEX AND POWER

Richard Foster

Hodder & Stoughton, 1985, 260 pp. £3.95

It must be quite nerve-racking when you have already written a book like *Celebration of Discipline* to continue with confidence. Yet Richard Foster has, once more, produced an important, readable and sometimes uncomfortable book. 'No topics cause more controversy... No three things have been more sought after or more in need of a Christian response.'

Referring to the Bible's teaching, Foster looks at both the 'dark side' of money (it can be a threat to our relationship with God) and the 'light side'

(it can be used to enhance our relationship with God and bless mankind). He does not treat his readers in a heavy, over-parentalized way. Rather he is as enthusiastic and joyful in writing as in real life. 'If our spiritual vitality seems low, if Bible study produces dusty words, if prayer seems hollow and empty, then perhaps a prescription of lavish and joyful giving is just what we need. Above all, money is to be used rather than saved, it is to be turned into 'kingdom opportunities'.

In his section on sex he again looks at the Bible's teaching. He spells out the hard work and commitment that will need to go into making the marriage covenant work. 'Serious efforts to improve a marriage are tasks as sacred as Bible study or prayer.' His chapter on singleness is helpful and (unlike most books on the subject) has some excellent insights into how single people can experience intimacy, including through non-genital touch. He also has a compassionate section on homosexuality.

The final section of the book is on power, and he examines both destructive and creative power. 'The powers' are energizing forces behind human beings and social structures. Our Christian responsibility is to discern these powers and put a value judgement upon them. They include racism, technology, narcissism, militarism. Through the gift of discernment we recognize them, through life in the power of the Spirit we defeat them.

This section posed, for me, the most questions. Exactly how does he recommend we go against technology and militarism? Such vital issues need further exploration. Foster could well prove to be a popular prophet for our time. Although he sometimes gives the impression of having written in haste, yet he touches on vitally important ethical issues. I wish he would now fill out each section into a separate book. Even so, he writes with a compassion that attracts, a straightness that invites us to be clear-eyed and an urgency that calls us to respond in a more biblical lifestyle.

Anne Long

despair but of belief that parents can do something positive and that many of the hazards are also opportunities for growth and development if used sensibly. The book falls into two sections dealing with natural and unnatural hazards. The natural hazards are the products of our technology and cover film, television, computers and fantasy games and books. Refreshingly the author shows a real enthusiasm for each of these activities. He enjoys films, he is clearly hooked on one or two computer games and he has a good ear for well-written fantasy. Because of this his warnings about some of the possible dangers in these activities is the more powerful. A good example of this is the film *Careful He might Hear You*, where Porter criticizes the PG categorization for exposing young children to a world of tangled adult emotions which they might find frightening or unsettling, but still praises it as a well-made film and recommends it for an older age group as a fine portrayal of a complex family problem.

The unnatural hazards are sexual assault and drug abuse. In each case there is a good summary of what is known about the subject followed by some practical suggestions of what Christian parents can do both to protect their own children and show their concern for others. One of the great strengths of the book is that every section concludes with practical suggestions about responding to the particular area discussed. These sections go beyond the now familiar advice about writing to MPs or the press, and cover for example how to tell if your own child is taking drugs and what to do if you think a child nearby is being sexually assaulted.

My one quibble with the book is that apart from a brief section in the first chapter there is no hint that children face hazards beyond the areas of family and leisure pursuits. Yet we know that for multitudes of children poverty, poor housing and unemployment are major hazards in their lives. It may have changed the nature of this book but I regret a missed opportunity to remind Christians in particular that some of the hazards children face have political and economic causes.

But it is a valuable book—positive, well-written and enthusiastic, all rare qualities in Christian books about family life in today's society. It is well worth a prominent place on your bookshelf and a plug at the next family service!

Ian Sparks

CHILDREN AT RISK

David Porter

Kingway, 1986, 187 pp. £4.95

A miracle happened as I sat on the London Underground reading this book—a man spoke to me! He had been reading the book over my shoulder (as common on the Tube as speaking is uncommon) and wanted to know its title so that he could read it for himself. If that was (as I take it to be) a further sign that the needs of children in our own country are at last a subject of popular concern, then David Porter's book is well-timed.

The title makes clear the author's view that children today live in a hazardous world. His response to this is not one of

NO, I'M NOT AFRAID

Irina Ratushinskaya

Bloodaxe Books, 1986, 142 pp. £4.95

The West can afford to ignore its poets by allowing them to be displayed discreetly in a cultural side-show. The Soviet Union cannot. In these days of 'openness' inspired by Gorbachev, we should

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remember that Irina Ratushinskaya is just half-way through a sentence of seven years' hard labour, to be followed by five years' internal exile. She was 28 when she was arrested; if she can survive much more beating, force-feeding and solitary confinement in the Small Zone of the strict-regime Mordovian corrective labour colony No 3, she will be 40 when she is free. Her crime is the manufacture and dissemination of poems.

This book is a marvellous, terrifying document. Half of its 142 pages is devoted to her poems in translations by David McDuff. She does not set out to be a 'political' or a 'religious' poet; she is a poet. And she is a Christian in a problematical relationship with her motherland. When asked whether he shares the opinion of the KGB that his wife's poems constitute a threat to the regime, her husband replies, 'Yes, because they do. To a regime that is founded upon a lie, any work of art is dangerous.'

The rest of the book contains McDuff's portrait of Ratushinskaya, an introduction by Joseph Brodsky, an interview with her husband, a memoir by Ilya Nykin, and an essay by Ratushinskaya: 'The calling of a poet is to speak the truth'. It reprints the *Amnesty International* report on the Small Zone, and extracts from *The Diary of the Small Zone*. These appallingly moving prose writings culminate in Ratushinskaya's *My Motherland*, which begins, 'Now, what if I don't have the right to put that as a title? ...'

But don't buy the book as propaganda. Buy it for the passion and intelligence and spirituality of Ratushinskaya's poems:

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Or, after waiting for a brilliant, chilling frosting on a prison window to recur, she writes:

But never was it repeated,

That upheaval of rainbow ice!

And anyway, what good would it be to me now,

And what would be the pretext for that festival?

Such a gift can only be received once,

And once is probably enough.

Paul Hyland

FINANCIAL CRISES AND THE WORLD BANKING SYSTEM

Ed. Forrest Capie and Geoffrey E. Wood

Macmillan, 1986, 270 pp. £29.50

Six papers from a conference held at the *Centre for Banking and International Finance* form the core of this important volume. It is a technical economics book for economists, although the subject matter should be of interest to the lay person. It focuses on the explanation of historical financial crises during the period 1870-1970 and in particular the role of the central bank in such crises. The majority of the writers are well known in their field and, as one would expect from this stable, most of them are monetarists.

Anna Schwartz, a long time collaborator of Milton Friedman, kicks off with a paper distinguishing between real crises, and pseudo-crises. There has not been any financial crisis she states, in the US since 1933 or in the UK since 1866. This strong statement is due to her definition of a real crisis as a situation in which the stability of the banking system itself is threatened due to fear causing a run on the currency. A drop in share values or real estate, exchange rate

problems or deflation cannot be construed as financial crises under this narrow definition. Other chapters deal with particular 19th century banking catastrophes and with the 'crises' of 1914 and 1931.

The book's interest to the lay person lies in its application of the international debt crisis of 1983-4. The conventional attitude is expressed as 'rescheduling, retrenchment and recovery'. The *rescheduling* of the debt, like extending a mortgage, allows the debtor country to pay back the loan over a longer period. The *retrenchment* is usually the cost of such a luxury, imposed by the IMF as the condition of a further loan to pay back the debt. This is done in the hope that *recovery* in Western countries will increase the demand for primary commodities, thereby increasing the ability of the country to pay back its debt.

The alternative to this is to face the fact that many of the loans are never going to be repaid. Bankers have made bad loans and they must begin to write them off. Some banks which have foolishly overlent to high risk Third World countries will go under, but the conclusion is usually that the world financial system would survive intact.

It is for the insights into this pressing problem that this volume is most interesting, but they are peripheral to the main thesis of the book. Monetary economists with a historical bent will find much else here to stimulate the grey matter. Christians interested in the nature of the relationship between North and South, or international injustice, will find some useful analytical material, but it must be stressed that the book is both exceptionally expensive and very academic in style.

Roy McCloughry

Contributors

Stephen Greenhill is a statistician for the *Inner London Education Authority*, and writes occasionally for specialist film magazines.

Mary Kenchington is a graduate of London Bible College who currently works as a parish co-ordinator in Bedfordshire. She has a doctorate in Psychology and formerly lectured at Bedford College of Higher Education.

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Paul Hyland is a poet and topographical writer whose *Poems of Z* chronicled the life of a fictitious Eastern bloc exile.

Roy McCloughry is an economist, and director of the *Shaftesbury Project*.

Anne Long works with the Church of England's ministry of pastoral care and healing, training lay people in counselling and advising churches on pastoral care.

Ian Sparks is director of the *Children's Society*.

Letters

The letters pages are for readers to continue debates started in articles, start one of their own, or bring to attention things close to their heart.

Selling celibacy

Veronica Zundel's article on 'single people and the church' (July), said much that needs saying, but disappointed me by taking, as most discussions of this subject do, the real subject to be 'single women and the church.'

A few points:

- Single women are far more numerous in churches than single men and therefore less 'invisible' (Veronica's term). True, they are second-class citizens and their problems are usually misunderstood but at least it is recognized and accepted that there are bound to be single women in churches. By contrast the single man (aged between 30 and 60) is such an exceptional anomaly in many congregations that his only excuse for existing – it seems – is to be in search of a wife.

- When married Christians regard singleness as *failure*, this is, as Veronica says, more hurtful for women than for men (though I have heard people say that for a Christian man not to marry is very selfish, when there are so many Christian women needing husbands). But the category of 'career woman' does enable many Christians to understand, if not entirely to approve, the idea of a positive choice not to marry. There is, however, no equivalent category of 'career man' (I), since the secular, sexist assumption is that marriage is an impediment to a woman's career but not to a man's. Lacking any positive Christian view of singleness, modern Christians have no (acceptable) category in which to put the unmarried man. He remains an anomaly.

- For many people who live alone the most difficult problem must be that of having no emotional support in moments of depression or anxiety. Here the single woman has some advantage in being more likely to be able to turn to women friends, whereas most men are conditioned to expect emotional support from women and to show more emotional self-sufficiency in relation to even close male friends.

- In relation to clergy, the popular Protestant view is that, in most pastoral situations, a minister (assumed to be male) needs to be married. Otherwise, how can he counsel married people? (But a married minister is rarely thought incompetent to counsel single people!) Or who will fill the indispensable role of minister's wife? (But this question is a problem for wives of clergy and for women ministers, as well as for unmarried clergy.) The fact that the Model of all Christian ministry was celibate certainly need not make clerical celibacy the norm, as in the Roman Catholic Church, but is hard to square with Protestant discrimination against celibate clergy.

- Single people, men and women, need to

stop being apologetic about being single and start reminding the church of New Testament teaching. Whereas modern Christian preachers and writers tend to allow single life as a largely theoretical – exception to the rule of marriage, the really distinctive feature of New Testament teaching on sex and marriage (against the Old Testament and Jewish background) is that Jesus and Paul positively advocated commitment to single life for the kingdom of heaven's sake. The Protestant Reformers overreacted against the medieval mistake of thinking celibacy holier than marriage, but we are scarcely in danger of making that mistake today. On the contrary, the church today needs alerting to the real danger in the modern view that fulfilled sexual relationships are – for everyone – essential to human fulfilment. Perhaps it is part of the vocation of single people today to show that view to be the nonsense it is. And perhaps they will only cease to be 'problems' for the church when they stop seeing themselves as such.

Richard Bauckham
Handforth, Cheshire

Who's spare?

I hope Veronica Zundel's excellent article *Going Spare?* (July) succeeds in its aim of getting evangelicals to be more sensitive toward single people. However, we can go further in identifying specifically who have the kinds of experience she describes.

The article is subtitled 'Single people and the church', but Veronica quickly admits that she is talking largely about single women. With that I would agree. The experience of being a single woman can be very different and often much harder, than that of being a single man.

She mentions that single people do not always have the masses of spare time that couples often assume them to have. Well, as a single man I have to confess that I am more available for unpaid activity than are most married men, since I need work only two days a week to make ends meet.

Many male wages are still 'family wages' intended to support a family, so a single male often need not work full time in order to support himself. If in addition he entered the housing market before the 1972 property boom and also now lives in the provinces, his housing costs will be now virtually nil. I also know a single woman doctor in her forties in the provinces who works only one day a week. Veronica is surely right that we should not make crude assumptions about who has, and who has not, time to spare. But the factors involved – wage levels, housing costs, property from daddy, whether or not there are children – are much more diverse than she hints at.

Thirdly, she writes of the particular problems experienced by 'Christian' single people. I think she means evangelical single people. Those of us who attend middle of the road or liberal churches do not exist in the kind of family-worshipping church environment she describes. And Catholics have a high view of celibacy at the same time as having an even higher view of marriage than do most evangelical churches.

All this is painting in the fine detail to Veronica's picture of singleness. But there is one hint of a serious problem in her approach

If difficulties for single people are often produced by couples who insensitively eulogize marriage and proclaim it as the norm, one particular paragraph reveals an idealizing of marriage even in our courageous single writer. She seems to imply that married women don't have problems finding a plumber who'll come at the weekend (25 per cent of married women work full time), that married women share the tastes of their families and never have problems looking for someone with similar interests to go on holiday with; that husbands are always emotionally there to offload onto when the wife has had a demanding day, and that all Christian wives have Christian husbands who will tell them when they're straying spiritually! Certainly couples, by their ignorance and fear, create problems for single people; but I wonder if we singles sometimes create as many problems for ourselves by idealizing marriage.

Tony Walter
Bath

Single combat

I read with interest Veronica Zundel's article (July) and as someone 'going spare' I can closely identify with some of the things said.

Churches are largely structured around the nuclear family and within this structure the single person finds it hard to fit. All too often *agape* is confined to singing hymns, and superficial conversation after the service; while everyone goes to their respective homes, the single person wishes that they had something more to look forward to than a lonely room. Few attempts are made to really understand and alleviate the loneliness, frustration and boredom inherent in not having a partner.

The challenge and cost of being Christian and single is frequently ignored. For example, married Christians may fail to appreciate the pain and inner conflict that result from deliberately not developing 'romantic' relationships with non-Christians. It would be nice to end on a positive note, but in reality many unattached Christians spend their lives struggling long and hard against a genuine and unrecognized handicap.

Mark Clemence
Torquay



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